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ABSTRACT

A project was designed to evaluate the comprehension and effects of a program about a Russian collective farm presented in three segments over Finnish television. Subjects were Finnish citizens; most were also farmers. Data on effects and comprehension were collected by telephone survey, field interviews, mail questionnaires, a viewing test with a group of farmers, and press comments and spontaneous audience reaction. Results indicate that the program did not change attitudes, but that information from the program was used to reinforce and enrich existing attitudes. (RH)

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A PROJECT ON COMPREHENSION AND EFFECTS OF MASS COMMUNICATION

No. 14/1972

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A PROJECT ON COMPREHENSION AND EFFECTS OF MASS COMMUNICATION[1]

1. INTRODUCTION

The present report contains the first-hand results of all the sub-projects carried out during March and April 1971, in connection with a three-part documentary series about a Soviet collective farm broadcast over television by the Finnish Broadcasting Company. The series of programs (A, B, and C) was produced by Reino Paasilinna, and was broadcast on April 5th, 16th, and 19th, 1971, under the title "A Collective Farm in Eastern Siberia". This series, and its reception by the audience, was selected for study because the topic was quite an unusual one in Finland, and interesting in many respects, for exemple the visit of the Broadcasting Company's recording group was the first time western TV-journalists had been allowed access to a Soviet collective farm for an extended visit. The present study is part of a broader research project, the so-called comprehension project, which was undertaken independently of the collective farm series, but the latter is admirably suited to serve as a case in point.

The "comprehension project" is the title of a program of research, begun in the autumn of 1970 by the long-range planning experts of the Finnish Broadcasting Company in cooperation with researchers at the University of Tampere, and dealing with the methodology of research concerning the comprehension of mass media programs and their effect on the audience. The research is centered on methodology, because in earlier comprehension studies the methods of data collection have been found to be a problem; the methods used up to now, in the opinion of the present researchers, have not yielded sufficiently valid data as to the comprehension of programmes, but so far there has been no opportunity for

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[1] Later in this text a shorter name, "comprehension project", will be used.

the working out of better approaches.

One aim of the comprehension project has been to elucidate the concept of comprehension, by means of theoretical discussion and terminological analysis. The second objective is a critical examination of present research methods, for example by comparing them among each other in the measurement of comprehension. Thirdly, the project aims at obtaining results which may be applied to practical situations in program planning and production.

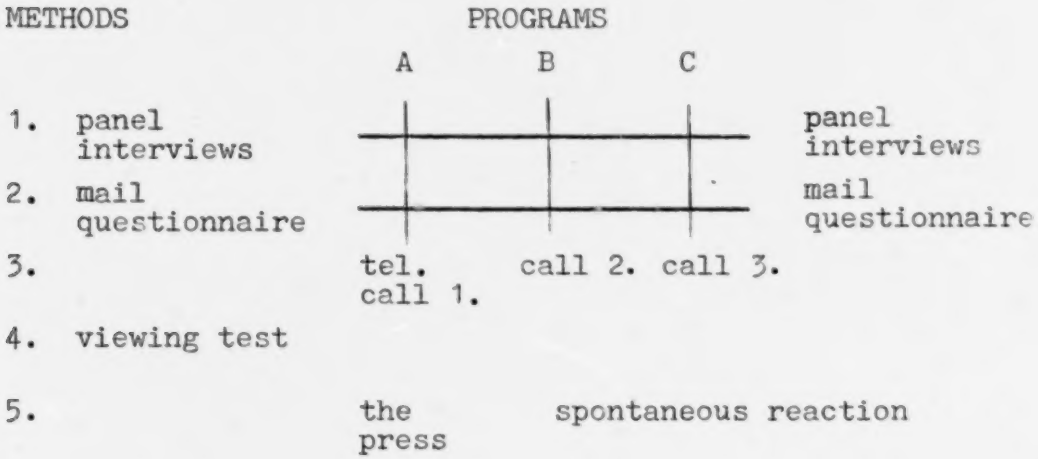
In brief, the purpose of the comprehension project is to answer the question, "How do we found out what the audience gets from the program?". Here the main problems are, on the one hand, what questions to ask the audience, and on the other hand how the answers obtained are to be processed for analysis.

A report on the comprehension project as a whole is to be published subsequently, in the form of a collection of papers, including the necessary conceptual analysis (theory) and a summary of the results of the various investigations (empirical applications). The present report concentrates on the information obtained as to the comprehension of Paasilinna's collective farm series. The discussion about the concept of comprehension, and the conclusions to be drawn for practical work, will be published later when the results of other investigations belonging to the project are also available.

The study consists of material collected by means of five different methods. Panel interviews (1) were carried out as personal interviews in the field; the same farmers were interviewed twice, before and after the program broadcast. The same panel principle was also followed in the mail questionnaire (2) except that the second questionnaire was sent also to respondents who had not been sent the first one (to control the so-called panel effect). Interviews by telephone (3) were carried out immediately following each program of the series. A viewing test (4) was arranged at one locality before the broadcasts. Finally, audience

reaction was tested (5) by a study of all articles and letters in the press related to the program series, and by an analysis of all telephone calls and letters to the broadcasting company.

The research design can be schematically represented in the following way:



The members of the Long-Range Planning Section of the Broadcasting Company who took part in the various stages of the research were Leena Forsström, Jukka Haapasalo, Jarkko Hautamäki, Pirjo Helasti, Juha Kytömäki, Sirkka Minkkinen, Kaarle Nordenstreng and Anna-Marja Nurminen; the Communications Institute and Research Institute of the University of Tampere being represented by Jyrki Jyrkiäinen, Raija Keränen, Tapani Köppä, Yrjö Littunen, Kauko Pietilä and Veikko Pietilä.

2. CONTENT OF THE SERIES

The three-part documentary series "A Collective Farm in East Siberia", according to the Television and Radio Commission of the USSR, is the first documentary on a Soviet collective farm produced by a western TV-company. The producer (Reino Paasilinna), the cameraman (Kimmo Simula) and the sound-track recorder (Veijo Lehti) visited the collective farm Put Lenina (Lenin's Road) in August 1970. They were assisted by Soviet television personnel. The result of the three-week visit was a program series altogether some one and a half hours in length, a report on an eastern Siberian collective farm. The cutting was done by Anna-Liisa Hujanen, and the working group which planned the program included Osmo Jussila and Marjatta Kuparinen.

The particular farm Put Lenina was selected according to the directions given by Paasilinna, which specified that the farm should be an average one and be located in Siberia, where conditions for agriculture are difficult. Put Lenina is not a "model farm".

At the beginning of the first part of the series, some Finns are interviewed as to their conception of the collective farm; after that, the report on the Lenin's Road farm begins. Geographical location and natural conditions - the cold winter and brief summer - make farming difficult. The farm is introduced more closely: the number of inhabitants, the way they live, migration to and from the farm. Certain old people living at the farm tell about former times.

The inhabitants of the farm are interviewed; one man who has just moved to the farm tells the reasons for his move, another man is moving away because his wife is sick.
A sequence describing the ownership relations of the farm is followed by an interview with a shepherd working at the farm. After this, a dairywoman is introduced and her home described; in the interview, she talks about women's equality at work.

The next section describes the cooperative activity of the farm members and the security this brings. The farm members decide themselves about their affairs; the film includes a long sequence from the general meeting of the farm, in which all the members may take part. At the meeting, practical shortcomings are brought out in quite straightforward terms. The leadership of the farm is responsible to the general meeting for the farm's activity; the members of the government are introduced, followed by a sequence from the meeting of the government, which also deals with practical problems; shortcomings are criticized.

At the end, a historical survey of the origins of the collective farm and its significance is given, illustrated by descriptions of life at the beginning of the century given by old people at the farm.

The second part of the series is even more compact in content: abundant information as to this particular farm and as to the agricultural production system of the collective farm in general is given.

At the beginning of this part, the viewer is made acquainted with the combined bank and post office of the farm and the person in charge of this is introduced and interviewed. The new constitution of collective farms is described, of which the Lenin's Road farm has its own version. This new constitution increases independence (certain wages are guaranteed, social security is agreed upon, etc.). After this, the party secretary is interviewed.

In this part, the viewer becomes better acquainted with the farm; information is given as to the sale of produce, figures are presented as to area cultivated, cattle, harvest yields, machinery. Total production has risen fourfold during the past five years and in the interview with the chairman of the farm, he says that they intend to double it again during the coming five years. The chairman of the village council is also introduced and interviewed. At the same time the activity of the village council is described.

The next section deals with work norms and pay. A truck-

driver and a tractor-driver are interviewed, dealing with such subjects as wages, pensions, building assistance etc. (The average couple earn about 1800 marks ($ 450) monthly after taxes, including the yield of their own patch; pensions are one half of wages.)

The cattle-tenders and dairy-workers have gathered together in the house next to the barns, and they are interviewed before the evening milking.

The services made possible in a larger community are brought out in the description of Vasilevska, one of the four villages belonging to the collective farm. At the same time, the viewer becomes acquainted with the leisure-time opportunities available; among others things, the library is shown and the librarian interviewed. Of the services of the farm, the store and the nursery school are shown more closely.

At the end of the program, the youth of the farm are introduced, and their thoughts, their hopes and their parents' ideas of them are described.

The third part of the series deals mainly with the way farm members spend their free time, and with their family life. The beginning shows a sequence from the opening of a new dining hall, with a speech by the chairman. After this, the home of one of the members is shown. Two old people take a steam bath after the old fashion, fur hats on their heads, and singing in the steam. Several members of the farm are interviewed as to the way in which they spend their leisure time.

The program tells about the attitudes of the farm members toward various matters, for example what they think about collective farming and about their own private garden patches; about helping the underdeveloped nations and about relations between young people. In general the members of the farm get along well together, without major conflict, and are able to maintain order themselves.

The following sequence deals with factors making the development of production difficult, such as the lack of

adequate machinery. The farm members nevertheless have confidence in the future; development has been amazingly rapid.

Toward the end of the program, preconceived notions prevalent in Finland with regard to collective farms are posed in the form of questions: e.g. "does the collective farm member live in barracks and cook in a collective kitchen?", to which answers are given on the basis of factual information.

The final sequence differs structurally from the rest; there is more room for pleasant pictures, music and lyrical moods.

According to the producers of the series, the most important reasons for making it were the numerous misconceptions and prejudices prevalent in Finland with regard to the nature of collective farming in the Soviet Union. In the view of the producers, the mistrust toward collective farming which is rooted deeply in the minds of many Finns is due to a great extent to ignorance, false information and prejudiced ideas. The program series was made to offer new and accurate information in place of these misconceptions.

3. VIEWING OF THE PROGRAMMES

Each program of the collective farm series was followed by somewhat under one million Finns. The continuous television audience survey by Marketing Radar showed 750 000 - 810 000 adult and young viewers (children under seven not included) for the first program. The total number of viewers for the second part was 800 000, and for the third part 870 000 - 930 000 viewers. Percentually these figures are of the order of 20-25 %. Viewing was measured in periods of 15 minutes, and it was found that for the first and third part of the series, viewing increased slightly toward the end of the program (of the audience figures given above, the first represents the first quarter hour of the program, the second the next quarter hour). The audience of the second part of the series, on the other hand, remained constant.

The total audience as calculated on the basis of the mail questionnaire data was of the same order of magnitude (see (5) below); the first part was followed by 25 % of the respondents, the second by 23 % and the third by 26 %.

The audience may be considered considerably larger than average, taking into account the time of day and the day of the week, together with the fact that documentary programmes of this type are followed relatively little. If we compare other programmes of similar type broadcast at the same hour during the spring of 1971, we find that for example the broadcast "Who Sold the Forests", broadcast March 31st at 7.15 p.m. was viewed by an average of 490 000 viewers. Another belonging to a series on working conditions in Finnish forestry (which evidently was more in the nature of entertainment than was the collective farm series), broadcast at the same hour on Monday April 12th, elicited 550 000 viewers. The total audience for "Our Western Heritage", broadcast on Friday April 23rd at 7 p.m., was 310 000 persons. If we look at the audiences for the evening of the

second collective farm broadcast, April 16th, we find that the program was preceded by one describing the fringe features of the underground shopping center area at the Helsinki railway station, which elicited 650 000 viewers, compared to 800 000 for the collective farm program which followed. We can thus claim that the series attracted the attention of a larger audience than programs of this type and broadcast at this time usually do. For the sake of comparison, we may mention that the Western series "Lancer", which followed the collective farm program on April 16th, was watched by 1 300 000 viewers; TV news and the most popular entertainment programs (e.g. "On the Buses") are watched by some two million viewers.

In the telephone interviews for part two and three (see (4) below), the respondents were asked whether they had seen the preceding part or parts. The number of those who had seen them was higher than might be expected on the basis of chance. There is, however, a clear difference between rural and urban viewers in this respect: rural viewers watched the entire series more often than urban ones. Of rural viewers who watched the second and third part of the series, somewhat over half had seen the first part, and of those who saw the third part some three fourths had also seen the second either in whole or in part. Furthermore, the viewing frequency in rural areas grew systematically from one part of the series to another. Among urban viewers, viewing was close to random, and the separate parts of the series were watched individually, without any consistent selection.

The mail questionnaire data yield the following table with regard to extent and overlapping of viewing (of the respondents to the mail questionnaire, 41 % had watched the collective farm series to at least some extent).

Viewing of the program series "A Collective Farm in East Siberia" among farmers, rural non-farmers and urban viewers

	Mean viewing time	Number of programs viewed				Total	
		0	1	2	3	%	n
Farmers	28 min.	54	16	14	16	100	43
Rural non-farmers	19 min.	58	25	10	7	100	103
Urban people	21 min.	58	22	12	8	100	120

As we can see from the table, the farming population followed the programmes with considerably greater interest than those identifying themselves with the non-farming population. Of the farmers, 16 % followed all three parts of the series, compared to only 7-8 % of the non-farmers. The urban-rural dimension, on the other hand, does not seem to play an important role. Non-farmers in both urban and rural communities seem to have viewed the series to the same extent.

These data add to the information given by the telephone interviews with regard to overlapping, i.e. to the extent to which all three parts of the series were viewed. It would seem that, of the rural population, farmers watched the series as a whole most consistently. One reason for the relatively slight degree of overlapping may be the unfortunate timing of the various parts, the second part of the series was broadcast a week and a half after the first.

An estimate of the total audience for the series may be based on the one hand on the results of the mail questionnaire (according to which, as we have mentioned, 41 % of the respondents had viewed the programmes at least in part) and on the other hand, we may try to combine our information as to the number of viewers of each part separately and as to consistency of viewing. The resulting estimate would be that about half the population, or over two million Finns, saw at least one part of the series, either in part or in whole.

The telephone interviews further indicate that almost two thirds of those who watched the programmes watched them from beginning to end. The number of those who watched the

entire program was higher in towns than in the countryside; a similar result was obtained with regard to the viewing of preceding parts; more urban than rural viewers said that they had watched the preceding parts in their entirety. The highest number of respondents who had watched the programmes from beginning to end was found among blue-collar workers.

About one third of those interviewed had decided in advance to watch the first part of the series, and about one half the second and third part. Urban viewers had made such a decision with regard to the second and third part of the series more often than rural ones.

About one half of those intervieved by telephone had heard or read about the programmes beforehand. On the other hand, according to the mail questionnaire only 17 % had such advance knowledge. This difference may probably be explained by the methodological difference; the telephone interviews took place directly after the broadcasts, when advance information obtained for instance from the daily paper was still fresh in the respondent's mind.

Leena Forsström
Juha Kytömäki

4. TELEPHONE INTERVIEWS FOLLOWING THE PROGRAM BROADCASTS

The sample

In connection with this part of the research, it should be borne in mind that somewhat under one half of Finnish households do not possess a telephone, and that telephone owners do not fully represent the population as a whole; the lowest socio-economic groups are underrepresented in the sample of telephone owners.

The sample used in this research was taken from the various Finnish telephone directories, the main principle being to include twice as many rural as urban dwellers. The sample was selected in two stages: areas were first chosen, and within these areas a total of 40 municipalities were selected which were considered to best represent their area. In each of these localities, the respondents were selected by systematic sampling from the telephone directory, in proportion to the total population, in such numbers that twice as many were chosen in rural as in urban municipalities. The total sample consisted of 1200 persons, of whom one half were the actual interviewees and one half their personal substitutes from the same localities. In each round of interviews, our intention was to interview one hundred persons who had watched the program.

These objectives, however, were not fulfilled in all respects. The amount of time and the interviewing resources available enabled the following numbers of interviews to be completed:

first round (I), April 5th	54
second round (II), April 16th	70
third round (III), April 19th	71
total	195 interviews

The total number of interviews thus was 195, or 105 less than intended. The reason for choosing more rural than urban respondents (rural dwellers accounted for 57 % of the actual sample interviewed) was the wish to include as many farmers as possible. Of the actual respondents, however, farmers accounted for only 20 %, since a majority of the rural dwellers reached by telephone were engaged in the service occupations. Blue-collar workers accounted for some 10 % of the respondents in the first round of interviews and for about 25 % in the second and third rounds. In preparing the sample for the first round, certain errors were made, and the conclusions drawn here are therefore based primarily on the second and third rounds. In addition, it should be borne in mind that the total sample is a very small one.

Attitudes of the respondents toward the programmes[1]

One feature which comes out very clearly in the interviews is the exceptionally positive attitude of the respondents toward the program series. Altogether only some 5 % (ten persons) took a negative attitude, and approximately the same number did not indicate their attitude.

The following types of attitude were frequently expressed: "... very interesting ...", "... I enjoyed watching it ...", "... it's good to see other kinds of living ...", "... it's interesting because it touches upon my own job ...", "... I hope it continues ...", "... I'm satisfied for myself and for my family ...", "... nicely done program ...", "... pleasant to watch ...".

A point particularly emphasized in the interviews, in addition to the interest and entertainment offered by the series, was the way in which it offered an opportunity for expanding one's knowledge, for opening up new horizons (this regardless of the fact that in some cases the respondents doubted the truthfulness of the programmes; see below). This

[1] In presenting the results, small and insignificant categories are in certain cases omitted, and the totals thus do not always amount to 100 %.

is significant above all because the positive attitude toward the programmes and the emphasis on the new information offered were brought out spontaneously in the interviews in connection with other guestions. Slightly under one half (44 %) of the respondents in the first round of interviews, and over half in the second and third rounds (59 % and 54 % respectively) mentioned spontaneously that they felt they had learnt something new from the series: "... it's good to find out what's happening in neighbouring countries ...", "... things which had been obscured are now clear ...", "... thought-provoking ...", "... good to see how other people live".

The point brought up most often was that it was good to get some information about the Soviet Union (about one half of all spontaneous mentions). Another point frequently mentioned was the benefit of information in general or of information about other countries.

To the question whether the program had given them some new information, 58 % in the first round, 66 % in the second and 49 % in the third replied positively.

In general, the programmes were considered truthful. Of all those who answered this question (some 10 % of the interviewees did not answer), after each program of the series, over 70 % considered it truthful.

Those who doubted the accuracy of the programmes suspected that conditions had been made to appear better than they really were ("... they praised it too much ...", "... interesting, but can it really be true ...", "... I didn't believe it ...", "... coloured a bit too rosy ...", etc.). In most cases, it cannot be concluded from the interviews whether the respondents think the producers or the collective farm members were embellishing the truth, though about 4 % of the respondents suspected each of these alternatives. In general, what the interviewees probably meant was that some negative aspects of the picture had been left out. None of the respondents doubted the accuracy of the factual information presented in the series.

All three programmes were considered approximately equally truthful.

Conceptions of the collective farm

Conceptions of the collective farm as a system of production seem to include above all the ideas of economic efficiency and rationality on the other hand, and of the lack of enterprise on the other. The former view was expressed by about 40 % of the respondents for each round, the latter by slightly less. The third most commonly expressed feature was that of a group spirit; "they all pull together". The positive aspects of this were emphasized by about 20 % of the respondents each time and contrary views to the above were also occasionally expressed.

Conceptions of the position of the individual in the collective farm involved above all the picture of a comfortable, secure, happy and contented life. The number of responses contradictory to this picture decreases each time, from 17 % after the first part of the series and 11 % after the second to a mere 1 % after the last part.

The responses were usually of a fairly general nature, such as "they're happy and contented", "in general people were happy", "nobody suffers want". To a certain extent particular reasons specific factors were also mentioned for exemple, those brought up most frequently were the good arrangement of housing conditions, job security ("their jobs and their livelihood are secure"), and good retirement benefits. Almost half of the respondents interviewed after the second part of the series expressed their surprise at the high wage level of the collective farm, which was dealt with in the part.

On the other hand, to a certain extent the farm was seen as a mass society, in which one's individuality is lost. This point was emphasized after the first part by 28 % of the respondents, after the second part by 27 % and after the third by 21 %. In this respect also the last part differs from the preceding two. We may also note that after the

third part of the series the freedom and voluntary nature of life in the collective farm was emphasized by 32 % of the respondents, whereas earlier it had been noted by only a few.

All in all, about one third of those who answered the question in each round of interviews thought that the collective farm system would be suitable under Finnish conditions also (33 %, 30 % and 36 %). Some of these respondents, however, would accept it if based on a somewhat different type of cooperative activity. Some thought that the collective farm might at least be tried out somewhere, some thought it suitable for large farming areas such as are found in Southern Finland and in Ostrobotnia, whilst others thought of it as a solution to the problems of the small farmer.

Of those who felt that the collective farm was unsuited to Finnish conditions, almost half based their opinion on the unsuitability of the Finnish national character to this form of enterprise. Other common rationales for a negative view were the fundamental superiority of private enterprise, and to a limited extent the external conditions of Finnish agriculture (small fields, Spartan nature), which make a system of production based on collective organization impossible.

The first round of interviews included a question as to the suitability of the collective farm system to the Soviet Union. Even though according to the above almost 40 % of the respondents considered that the collective form of enterprise led to a loss of ambition, as well as other negative aspects, 88 % of those who answered this question nevertheless considered that the collective farm was well adapted to conditions in the Soviet Union. Most of these answers were not explained or justified in any way. Of the others, the most common basis was that of tradition and custom. We may conclude from this that those who gave their opinions concerning the collective farm (or at least a majority of them) were not referring to the farm described in the programmes, or even to Soviet collective farms in general,

but rather to the collective farm as they imagined it functioning in their own environment.

Comprehension

Since questions designed to measure comprehension are closely related to the content of the programmes, most of the questions were presented only once after the particular program concerned. For this reason, a comparison of the programmes is difficult, since the level of difficulty of questions related to content naturally varies. In the following, the comprehension of the programmes is examined under each topic.

Administration of the collective farm

Ideas concerning the principles according to which the collective farm is governed varied somewhat from one part of the series to the next, depending on the content of the programmes. After each program, however, a majority of the respondents understood the collective nature of decision-making in the farm. As a expression of this principle, over half of the respondents recalled that the members of the farm jointly elect the chairman. A great majority recalled some organ functioning in the administration of the farm, and a majority also had some idea of the nature of the central administrative body, the general meeting. These organs were compared to the administration of a Finnish village primarily by pointing out the differences and similarities between them.

The administrative organs described in the programmes to a certain extent affected the degree to which the collective nature of decisions concerning the farm was understood. After the first part 63 %, after the second part 42 % and after the third 55 % of the respondents were aware that the members made descisions jointly. These may, however, be considered minimum figures, since the question was presented in very general form ("How are decisions made in the collective farm?"). We may assume that a majority of those

(A 22 %, B 29 %, C 21 %) who named some executive organ as making decisions (the government, the board of directors) knew of the existence of the general meeting. There were very few other answers; most of these considered that some individual made decisions for the farm.

After the first program, 36 % of the respondents were unable to name any administrative organ of the collective farm. The organ recalled most often was the general meeting (31 %), followed by the government (22 %) and the village council (9 %). There were some other mentions in 9 % of the answers (the chairman, the Party etc.).

The nature of the general meeting was recalled somewhat less often than the existence of administrative organs, and only very few recalled the nature of the government of the farm. Of the respondents, 56 % were able to describe the principles according to which the general meeting functions or who belongs to it. There were only a few wrong answers, and 38 % were unable to answer the question.

The functioning and membership of the government, on the other hand, seemed to be fairly unfamiliar to the respondents. To a great extent (62 %) the question was unanswered, and only 33 % had a correct idea of these matters.

After the second program, 52 % of the respondents were able to recall the way in which the chairman was elected.

After the last part of the series, the respondents were asked to compare the administration of the collective farm to the way in which a Finnish village is governed. The comparison took the form most often of a mention of differences (27 %: e.g. "there's a bigger bunch ruling there", "quite different there") or of similarities (10 %), in which case the conditions were considered to be highly similar in both cases. There were very few value judgements (14 %) considering one form of administration better than the other and practically all of these considered the form of administration found in the collective farm to be better. Finally, 20 % of the respondents considered that no comparison could be made, since the Finnish village has no formal administration.

Wages

A very great majority of the respondents knew that the size of wages in the collective farm varied, and almost as many knew the basis on which wages were determined. On the other hand, only about one third of the respondents were able to mention the average size of wages on the farm, and there was a tendency to see them as higher than they really were. Approximately one half of the respondents were aware that the annual surplus production of the farm is divided up among the members as extra pay.

After the first part of the series, 87 % of the respondents knew that the members of the farm received different wages. Only one person held the contrary view, and 11 % did not answer this question.

After the second program, almost as many were familiar with the factors affecting the size of pay: 70 % mentioned the amount and type of work, although not all of these mentioned work norms.

There was nevertheless a considerable amount of scatter with regard to the amount of pay. Only about 36 % of the respondents remembered the average wage more or less correctly. The sample wages mentioned in the program may have contributed to the fact that 23 % of the respondents recalled the average wage as higher than this and only 10 % as lower; 31 % were unable to answer the question.

Altogether 47 % of the respondents recalled that the surplus production was divided up among the members as extra pay. Besides this, 14 % believed that the surplus production was used to add to the capital of the farm (e.g. for the acquisition of machinery, savings, for the common good, etc.); 6 % thought that the surplus production went to the state, and 33 % were unable to answer the question.

Production

The questions concerning the statistics presented in the programmes (amount of arable land, number of livestock, machinery and production growth) were difficult ones and a

majority of the respondents did not answer, with very few remembering these figures even approximately correctly. A majority of those who answered the question did so in very general terms, such as a lot, large, etc. A majority of the respondents considered that the amount of land and of livestock was sufficient, and all the respondents considered that some growth had taken place in the farm.

In the interviews following the second part of the series, the respondents were asked about the statistics presented in the program: the area under cultivation, the number of livestock and the amount of machinery owned by the farm. As subsumed all under the same general question, this was undoubtedly too difficult a task for the respondents, since under each of these headings several figures had been presented in the program (e.g. under the heading of livestock the number of dairy cattle, cattle for slaughter and horses separately). It is thus not surprising that 39 % of the respondents did not answer any part of this question, besides which many respondents did not answer particular parts; thus the first part of the question was answered by 39 %, the second by 29 % and the third by 43 %. A majority of those who answered emphasized large quantities without specific figures (a lot, hundreds, etc.).

Those who did not answer the question nevertheless had a more or less clear idea of the issues involved; this is shown by the fact that 54 % of all respondents considered that the farm had a sufficient quantity of land and of livestock, whereas only 11 % considered it insufficient and 34 % did not answer this question.

Practically the same result was obtained with the question, in the interviews following the second part of the series, as to the extent to which production on the collective farm had grown. Only about a quarter (26 %) of the respondents considered that production had grown considerably, and of these again only a quarter knew the precise amount. The other 74 % did not answer the question. After the third part of the series, nobody remembered the

precise figure any more (it had been given in the second part) but on the other hand, 27 % considered that production had increased considerably or multifold, and 73 % did not answer.

None of the respondents on either occasion, however, felt that no growth had taken place, and a majority (B 70 %, C 71 %) gave it as their unreserved opinion that some growth had taken place. In addition, some of the respondents in each round of interviews (B 19 %, C 23 %) felt that growth had taken place, but expressed some reserve in this respect: "yes, but the young people still wanted newer machines"; "development is taking place everywhere"; "that's what they said". After the third part, mechanization and the growth of production were referred to more often (42 %) than after the second part (19 %).

Services

A large majority of the respondents knew that the collective farm provided a creche and nursery school, and that the members of the farm had an opportunity to study.

After the second part of the series, 47 % of the respondents knew in general how the care of young children was arranged on the farm, and 30 % also mentioned details, such as the size of the fee for child-care. The answers mentioned particularly the fact that the fees were scaled to the parents' income, and that when necessary the children were cared for at night also.

Again, 51 % of the respondents recalled in general that there were educational opportunities ("there were schools there", "they can study if they want to"). In addition, 23 % of the respondents recalled the educational opportunities more or less accurately. In general, the answers noted the good opportunities for study and the high educational level of the members.

Leisure time

A large majority of the respondents recalled the leisure

time and recreational opportunities shown in the programmes. The frequency with which various hobbies and recreational pursuits were mentioned followed the content of the programmes.

After the second part of the series, 70 % of the respondents recalled one or more hobbies, and another 3 % considered that the farm members had recreational opportunities without mentioning any examples. On the other hand, 10 % considered that the farm members did not have any opportunities for leisure time pursuits. After the third part, various leisure time occupations were recalled even more frequently; 86 % of the respondents considered that the farm members had good opportunities, and almost all of them mentioned one or more examples. Only 8 % were of the contrary opinion.

Misullaneous

The items discussed below are all related to the first part of the series, in which the collective farm was first introduced.

A majority of the respondents recalled that the collective farm was located in Siberia, and of them one third knew its location with considerable accuracy. A majority also knew how the farm members had come to the farm, and that they owned their own dwellings. The approximate number of inhabitants of the farm, on the other hand, was recalled only by about a quarter of the respondents.

The rough location of the farm, in Siberia (or Eastern Siberia) was recalled by 69 % of the respondents, and one third of these mentioned its location more closely, as for example near Lake Baikal or the city of Irkutsk. There were very few incorrect answers; roughly a quarter did not answer the question.

A large majority (80 %) recalled that the farm members had come to the farm voluntarily (about half of these added that some of the members had been born there), and only a

few individuals considered that the farm members had been compelled to join.

Over half (55 %) of the respondents knew that most of the farm members owned their own dwellings. About one fifth assumed that the state owned the dwellings.

The number of inhabitants of the farm (867 persons) was recalled approximately correctly by over a quarter (27 %) of the respondents. Another 44 % did not answer the question. There were quite a few wrong answers, but 18 % of these were of the same order of magnitude as the true number of workers on the farm.

Conclusions

In general, the series was not followed as a whole, and the content of each program separately thus had a considerable effect on the respondents' ideas concerning the collective farm.

It would further appear that general principles have penetrated to the viewers better than details. Many respondents, for example, knew that the farm members make decisions collectively and that these decisions are then carried out by executive organs, but fewer of them knew how these organs work and who belong to them. We may assume that the details have been lost part due to the large amount of information contained in the programmes (particularly in the case of statistics). On the other hand, the telephone interview as a technique may easily lead the respondent to give cautious and brief responses, yielding a distorted picture of the comprehension of the broadcast. This may also be reflected by the low incidence of incorrect responses, together with the large number of unanswered questions.

Raija Keränen

5. THE MAIL QUESTIONNAIRE

As in the case of the telephone interviews, the purpose of this part of the research also was to obtain the views and opinions concerning the "Collective Farm in Eastern Siberia" series from representatives of all occupational sectors. Although the sample used was not fully representative of the population of Finland, the various types of locality - cities, wealthy rural municipalities in the south of the country and less well-off rural areas on the outlying areas of the country were all represented.

The respondents were chosen from among the inhabitants of four rural municipalities and two cities, on the basis of a random sampling of the population registers. The respondents were at least fifteen years of age.

In each of the six localities, 225 persons were chosen as respondents: 150 for the panel group, who were sent questionnaires both before and after the broadcast of the program series, and 75 for the control group, who received questionnaires only after the series was concluded. Thus the total panel group included 900 persons and the control group 450 persons. The use of two groups was considered necessary in order to control the so-called panel effect, i.e. to find out whether the questionnaire which was answered prior to the series affected the viewing activity of the programmes or the programmes' comprehension by the viewers.

Of the 900 persons who were sent the preliminary questionnaire (prior to the broadcast of the series), 63 % completed and returned it, and this smaller group was sent another questionnaire immediately following the series. This second questionnaire was completed by 80 %. The final panel group thus included 50 % of the original sample of 900. Of the control group, 59 % returned the questionnaire sent to

them after the broadcast. The total number of responses to the questionnaire sent out after the series was thus 716.

In the first stage of the panel, the future television series could not yet be mentioned, in order not to place the respondents in a different position compared to the rest of the population with regard to program selection. It appears nevertheless that the farming population in the panel group followed the programmes considerably more actively than the farmers of the control group, and we might thus conclude that the preliminary inquiry activated the farming population to follow the collective farm series.

The main stress in the preliminary questionnaire was on information concerning agricultural policy, and on the acquisition of such information. So the questionnaire included a number of questions concerning agriculture in Finland. It also contained assertions and adjectives for the evaluation of the agriculture and farming population of Finland., Sweden and the Soviet Union. The assertions were given in identical form for each country separately. In order to eliminate response tendencies, some of these assertions were expressed in negative and some in positive form. In the second questionnaire, following the series broadcast, the statements and opinions were presented again, in exactly the same form. At the same time, open-ended questions as to the content of the program series were asked, and the respondents' opinions of the series as a whole elicited.

Opinions of the respondents about the series

Taken as a whole, it appears that the series was considered highly worthwhile; 85 % of those who had watched the series and answered the questions considered its presentation on television worthwhile (N = 228). A small group (7 %) declared outright that the programs were not worthwhile.

The respondents were also asked to give some sort of basis for their opinion as to the necessity or otherwise of

the programmes. Those who considered them unnecessary felt most often that the series consisted of one-sided propaganda. Of those who considered the broadcasts worthwhile, 32 % were of the opinion that it was a good thing to find out something about collective farms or about the Soviet Union, and 24 % said spontaneously that the programs were needed to reduce prejudice and misconceptions concerning the collective farm system. Another 12 % felt that in general it was necessary to obtain information about other countries, and 10 % gave as their rationale that "we see better and better how well off we are in our own country".

Altogether 68 % of those who considered the program series worthwhile thus emphasized its significance in broadening the viewer's cognitive horizons; the viewers felt that their information about the Soviet Union and about the collective farms was deficient.

Table 1. Estimates as to the necessity of the programmes series among various occupational groups (N = 228).

	worth-while	don't know, no answer	not worth-while	Total %	(N)
labourer-small farmers	93	7	0	100	(14)
farmers	77	12	11	100	(35)
workers	88	7	4	99	(111)
lower white-collar	82	9	9	100	(56)
upper white-collar	83	18	8	99	(12)

As we see from Table 1, the estimates of farmers appear to differ according to whether they obtain their entire livelihood from farming or whether they have to supplement this income by other work. Labourer-small farmers considered the series relatively worthwhile the most often. The attitude of other working-class respondents was almost identical. On the other hand, those farmers who obtain their livelihood entirely from agriculture considered the programs relatively unnecessary most often. Evidently those whose

farm is too small to provide them with an adequate standard of living are most interested in obtaining information about forms of cooperative activity, since cooperative farming might be a solution to their problems, and their more positive attitude toward a program series dealing with such activity might be a result. Farmers in a relatively good position, on the other hand, may have experienced the programs as conflicting with their efforts toward the greatest possible independence.

A classification of the responses according to political opinions indicates that the views of the respondents concerning the necessity of the series were affected by their political opinions. Respondents inclining toward the right considered the series relatively more often not worthwhile and those affiliated with the left worthwhile. The reasons offered for these opinions also differed between the two.

In general, the information presented about the collective farm was taken at face value; 78 % of the respondents did not suggest any doubt of the veracity of the series. All those who spontaneously considered some part of the program untrue were included in the category of doubters. Specific disbelief concerning some item of the program was mentioned by 12 % of the respondents, and non-specific doubt by 10 % (N = 228).

The groups which most often doubted the veracity of the series were farmers and those politically oriented toward the center. In particular those who obtained their entire livelihood from agriculture disbelieved the programs, whereas practically all those who combined small-scale farming with other jobs believed them.

Estimates of the impartiality of the series usually agree with those concerning its veracity; respondents identifying with the farming population and with the political center relatively most often suggested doubts as to the impartiality of the series or considered it clearly biased.

The basis most often mentioned for considering the

programmes biased was the opinion that the producers of the series had not told the whole truth, but had selected only positive features for presentation. Those with the most negative attitudes saw the programmes as idealizing the collective farm; in other words, they ignored the fact that the programmes had also mentioned drawbacks of the farm and demands for improvement. Some respondents also thought that the farm members had not dared or been bold enough to mention bad points before the camera, and the picture given of the farm was in their opinion too positive.

Recall and interpretation of the program content

We shall now examine what aspects of the program series received most attention from the viewers. The analysis is based on the responses of the 228 persons who had watched the programmes and who replied to the questionnaire, and specifically on the responses to the three open-ended questions. The respondents were asked to tell with as much detail as possible what the series showed, whether they had learnt something new from it, and what kind of picture they had received as to life in the farm described in the series. To make it easier to answer, several reminders were given as to the content of the programmes. It should be noted that the formulation of the questions probably affected crucially which aspects of the content were mentioned and which were not; the reminders and hints given in the questionnaire directed the attention of the respondents toward certain aspects of program content, and away from others of equal importance.

The analysis indicated that the factor which received most attention from the viewers was the contentment of the collective farm members but on the other hand, this aspect was also the one most often doubted. The second most important factor apparently were social conditions (equality, security, freedom etc.), which were often found to bear comparison with conditions in Finland or even to compare favorably with the latter. In the case of social conditions,

the point of comparison was frequently chosen in such a way as to yield support for the respondent's evaluation of the collective farm. The scatter of opinions in this case is not surprising, since this is a question of fundamental political differences.

Economic questions also received a considerable amount of attention. What was recalled most often was the amount of wages paid in the farm, but the basis according to which wages were determined was also recalled fairly well. Some respondents also remembered that the surplus production of the farm was divided up among the members.

The aspects most often unobserved or unrecalled by the respondents were social services (kindergartens, health care, pensions etc.) and private property (own homes and gardens). This may be due in part to the way in which the programmes were presented and to technical aspects of the questionnaire as mentioned above, but these factors cannot explain the entire difference. The social services provided in the Soviet Union, and the forms of private property prevalent there, are not generally familiar in Finland; on the contrary, some of the answers brought out very dearly the view that nobody there owns anything himself. This is to be interpreted as a deeply rooted prejudice, which serves as a foundation for a negative attitude toward the Soviet Union, even though it does not correspond to reality. It is possible that these preconceived ideas controlled observation to a certain extent, so that social services and private property were the aspects of collective farm life which most often went unnoticed.

One finding which is more or less self-evident is that those who watched more than one part of the series also remembered the content best.

On average, the degree of recall of the program content seems to be in a fairly close linear relationship to the versatility of the respondent's informational sources, i.e. to the number of newspapers and periodicals he follows regularly. The result would seem to indicate that those who

were used to using a number of different sources of information were also better able to utilize the information offered by television. This is another indication of the accumulation of information to the advantage of the better-off citizen.

New information obtained from the collective farm series

The "subjective information value" of the series is defined here as the number of items of new information the respondent claimed to have obtained from the programmes. The mean number of items for all respondents was 1.6.

Altogether 60 % of those who both watched the programmes and answered the questionnaire, said that they had learnt something from the series which they had not known before. The effects of motivation and of skill in writing, however, most be taken into account in the case of a mail questionnaire. We can assume that the amount of new information received by the respondents was in fact considerably greater. According to a classification based on the answers to all the open-ended questions, 16 % did not receive any new information or at least it did not appear from their responses, 44 % estimated that they had learnt one or two new items of information, and 39 % a great deal (at least three items).

The new information most often mentioned by the respondents related to the social conditions prevailing in the collective farm, i.e. to the freedom and equality of the members, and to the security of their life. The respondents were especially surprised to find that the members could decide themselves whether they wanted to stay at the farm or to move away, although many respondents had believed that the inhabitants of the farm had to stay there all their lives, and that moving to another occupation was extremely difficult.

The aspects mentioned next most often as being new to the respondents had to do with production and its growth. The respondents were surprised that farming is in general possible under such difficult conditions, and that production had increased so rapidly.

Economic aspects were also new to many viewers, and here the size of wages caused the greatest surprise, but the basis on which wages were determined and the fact that surplus production was divided up among the members were also unknown to many respondents. According to a respondent collective farm members were paid starvation wages. It was also interesting that for almost all of those who noted that the farm members owned their own houses and gardens, this was new information. The democratic process of decision-making, the high degree of mechanization and the social services offered by the farm, as well as the contentment of the members, were also new to the viewers.

Table 2. The subjective information values and the number of items of new information obtained, in different political groups (N = 172).

Political group	Subj. information value	Number of items of new information				
		0	1-4	5-9	Total %	(N)
Right-wing	0.9	64	27	9	100	(22)
Center	1.2	45	52	4	101	(56)
Left-wing	1.9	33	56	11	100	(94)

Classified according to political affiliation, right-wing viewers received the least new information from the series; left-wing viewers received over twice as much new information, according to their own estimate, as those on the right. This is surprising, since the matters presented in the series differed apparently most greatly from the ideas of right-wing viewers; thus they should have received a great deal of new information. It would seem, however, that right-wing respondents experienced the series most often as propaganda and as one-sidedly idealization of the collective farm and they also considered it relatively antouthful most often. Thus their attitude toward the series as a whole would be a negative one, and they would not start to analyze the programmes to find out what new information might be contained in them.

Opinion change

There has been very little accurate information available to Finns concerning Soviet agriculture, and even less information based on first-hand experience. People's opinions are thus based to a great extent on assumptions. In the following, we examine the extent to which the collective farm series brought the viewers to reexamine their ideas about Soviet agriculture and farmers. Opinion changes were measured by changes taking place in the respondents' estimates of the accuracy of assertions concerning Soviet agriculture and Soviet farming population.

It appeared that the estimates of the panel group members who had watched the series were somewhat more negative in the second questionnaire (following the series broadcast) than those of the control group. This led to the suspicion that the panel effect had played a part here also, and that the first measurement had "frozen" the estimates of the panel group. To control this, a two-way analysis of variance was performed, which showed that the assumed panel effect (the joint effect of the preliminary measurement and of the viewing of the series) was not statistically significant. On the other hand, the analysis indicated that the post-series estimates of those who had viewed the programmes were significantly more positive than the estimates of non-viewers. This difference can be interpreted specifically as the effect of the series, since other results indicated that the positive or negative character of initial estimates was irrelevant to whether or not the respondent watched the program.

Those assertions which formed fairly compact clusters in the estimates of the respondents, were combined in scales, which were interpreted as reflecting the respondents opinions as to:

1. The rationality and success of the collective production system of the Soviet Union.
2. The farming population's opportunities of improving their own circumstances.

3. The diligence and innovativeness of the farming population.
4. The status of the farming population.

The questionnaire also included a number of assertions concerning economic issues, but the responses to these did not form clusters, i.e. the respondents did not have a clear and coherent picture of the economic status of the farming population in the Soviet Union. The analysis also indicated that the estimates were usually highly global and undifferentiated, or in other words, if respondent judged a particular assertion to be true, he also tended to judge other assertions pointing roughly in the same direction to be true. Estimates concerning the collective farm economy as such were not particularly dependent on other estimates pertaining to the life of the farm.

Changes in the respondents' opinions were computed as percentages of possible change, rather than as absolute change. This was considered essential in order to aliminate the so-called ceiling effect. This term refers to the fact that if a respondent has given an extreme estimate of some issue in the first measurement, and if a fixed five-point scale is used for both measurements, then his estimate for purely technical reasons cannot shift to a more extreme position, even if in actual fact his opinion actually has been reinforced by the program.

Examining individual assertions on the one hand and sum scales on the other, it appears that the greatest average change has taken place in the estimates concerning economic issues, in which area the respondents did not have fixed preconceived ideas. Estimates of those issues in which such fixed ideas had existed, on the other hand, have not changed to any great extent. It would seem, furthermore, that ideas about the farming population of the Soviet Union have changed to a greater extent than those concerning Soviet agriculture as such.

Table 3. Overall change (%) in estimates of Soviet agriculture, in different political groups (N = 135).

Political group	Change, in % of possible change						
	-100- -26	-25- -6	-5- +5	+6- +25	+26- +100	mean	(n)
right-wing	11	5	32	42	11	5	(19)
center	2	12	29	38	19	12	(52)
left-wing	0	6	20	42	21	16	(64)

The political affiliation of the respondents seems to explain attitude changes best; the opinions of right-wing respondents have changed least and those of left-wing respondents most. In some respects the opinions of right-wing respondents have actually become more negative; this is probably due to the fact that they experienced the programs relatively most often as propaganda. (Changes in a negative direction are denoted in the following by a sign before the percentage figure. A change of 15 % can be considered significant at the 1 % level and one of 11 % at the 5 % level.)

Opinions as to the rationality and the success of the collective production system as practiced in the Soviet Union have not in general changed at all. The simplest explanation might be that the viewers paid more attention to external factors, such as whether the contentment expressed by the farm members was genuine or pretended, and that the series thus did not bring them to think about the advantages to be derived from collective activity. It is also possible that issues like this demand a longer time to change, so that they do not come out in this study, which is concerned with fairly immediate changes.

Table 4. Changes in opinions as to the opportunities open to the Soviet farming population for improving their own condition, in different political groups (N = 135).

Political group	Change in % of possible change						
	-100– -26	-25– -6	-5– +5	+6– +25	+26– +100	mean	(N)
right-wing	21	11	16	37	16	- 7	(19)
center	15	8	19	29	29	6	(52)
left-wing	8	9	8	33	42	20	(64)

The figures shown in Table 4 are particularly interesting: the opinions of right-wing respondents have become somewhat more negative and those of left-wing viewers have become significantly more positive.

Table 5. Changes in opinions concerning the diligence and innovativeness of Soviet farmers, in different political groups (N = 135).

Political group	Change in % of possible change						
	-100– -26	-25– -6	-5– +5	+6– +25	+26– +100	mean	(N)
right-wing	11	16	0	42	32	14	(19)
center	8	19	12	31	31	14	(52)
left-wing	2	19	22	25	33	19	(64)

As we see from Table 5, opinions as to the hard-workingness and willingness to innovate of Soviet farmers have become more positive in all groups. This is a highly important change, since in the responses to the questionnaire given before the series the idea was often suggested that nobody would bother to work very hard since the profit would not go into his own pocket but would be divided up equally among all collective farm members regardless of the amount of work done.

In the case of right-wing respondents and partly also of center respondents, estimates on the one hand as to the

opportunities of the Soviet farming population of improving their own corcumstances and on the other hand as to their diligence and innovativeness are highly interesting. In the first place, the opinions of right-wing respondents as to opportunities of influencing their own affairs have become more negative, while opinions concerning hardworkingness and innovativeness have become more positive. Among center respondents, opinions in the former variable have become more positive to only half the extent of those in the latter.

An analysis of the opinions of young viewers separately shows that they have changed on the average more than those of older respondents. This may be due to the fact that the preconceived ideas of younger people about Soviet agriculture are not as rigid as those of older viewers, so that they are more receptive to the content of the broadcasts.

Table 6. Estimates of the impartiality of the programmes as related to changes in opinions concerning Soviet agriculture (N = 134).

	Change in % of possible change						
	-100– -26	-25– -6	-5– +5	+6– +25	+26– +100	mean	(N)
impartial...	3	0	9	50	38	19	(32)
don't know,. no answer	0	11	32	39	19	12	(75)
biased.....	7	4	26	52	11	10	(27)

On the basis of Table 6, it would seem that estimates of the impartiality and truthfulness of the series are related to changes in attitudes. Those who considered the programmes unbiased also changed their opinions to a considerably greater extent than those who considered them one-sided.

Juha Kytömäki

6. THE VIEWING TEST WITH A GROUP OF FARMERS

This viewing test was originally carried out as the pilot study for the field interviews of the comprehension project. The test was administered at the town hall of the municipality of Vilppula, on March 14th, 1971. Altogether fifteen farmers had been asked to come to the town hall in order to watch the series and be interviewed. The local farming consultant had selected the subjects so as to include the owners of farms of as many different sizes as possible. Unfortunately, the sample nevertheless did not include any small farmers; all the respondents came from well-to-do or at least moderately well-off farms, with a predominance of forested land.

All three parts of the series were shown to the respondents consecutively; at this date the series had not yet been broadcast over television. The interviews followed directly after the showing; open-ended questions were used, and all the interviews were taped. Ten of the respondents were interviewed individually and the other five in a group; the latter interview was conducted by two interviewers. Due to the smallness of the sample, it was not considered meaningful to handle these two methods of interviewing separately, and all the interviews were treated as equivalent.

Practically all the respondents had gone through primary school and agricultural school, and the completion of various occupational courses was quite common. One of the respondents had several years of secondary school, and one was an agronomist. Only one of the respondents was a woman.

In age the respondents varied between 32 and 55 years; the mean was 47 years. The average size of the farms owned by the respondents was 94 hectares; the smallest was 46 hectares and the largest 175. The mean amount of arable land

was 15-20 ha.

All in all, the sample deviated considerably from the average Vilppula farmer; the mean amount of arable land per farmer in this municipality in 1969 was 7.3 hectares and that of forest 29 hectares.

The results of this kind of viewing test naturally cannot serve as a basis for statistical generalization, if only because of the fact that biased selection had taken place. Considering the nature of the data, no exact statistical analysis has been undertaken in this report. Our aim is to give a description of the way in which information is received - of the nature of the reception process as such.

General attitudes toward the series

In general, the attitude of the Vilppula farmers was a highly positive one. Whatever the respondents may have thought of the system of agricultural production described in the programmes, they considered the series itself interesting and good. The following quotation is highly typical of the responses; in one form or another, these ideas were brought forth in practically every interview: "At least it's good that programmes like this, based evidently completely on real facts about the economy and life of another country are shown. It can't help broadening our horizons, our ideas about life in the world and the life of other nations."

To a great extent the programmes were followed with the eye of a professional farmer. Those aspects of the programmes which aroused the most interest were those related to farming practice, such as methods of cultivation, mechanization, harvest yields, etc. "That there ... from the farmer's point of view the harvest yields and ... hm ... the machines they had and that rake ...". They were also interested in the collective farm life in general. "Just this ... hm ... this collective-farm-way of living ... it was very interesting to see."

When the respondents were asked whether the picture given of life on the collective farm corresponded to their

preconceptions, about one half answered in the negative. Wages were most often better than had been expected, and many were also surprised by the freedom of the farm members and their administrative autonomy.

> "Yes, I guess I'd got about that kind of picture, but I had maybe a more negative picture, about people's freedom, that they can leave and come back if they want to, like they showed in the film ... that there's nothing forcing them to work except the pay, but that's the same here too."

In addition to this, a few of the respondents mentioned spontaneously later in the interview that the information presented in the programmes had differed from their preconceptions.

In general this picture given of the collective farm, which was new to the respondents in many respects, was considered accurate and truthful. "I think that it has to be like that, it wouldn't work otherwise without some kind of set administration, all cooperative activity in general works the same way."

Five respondents, however, brought forth some doubts in this respect: ... "It seems too good maybe, can it be so successful this collective farm ...". We may note that these doubts were not directed toward anything specific mentioned in the program, but rather toward what the respondents thought had been left out. "Yes, but I wonder a bit, if the real everyday life is like that, I guess they didn't show that clearly enough."

The respondents' confidence in the factual information presented in the programmes comes out above all indirectly. When people talk about issues, express opinions concerning them and compare them, we can assume that they consider the information involved to be true. Thus the doubts concerning the veracity of the series, when such were mentioned, meant a suspicion that the reality of the collective farm had been embellished - that a "Sunday farm" had been shown. In general the series was considered to be a well-produced documentary program, which broadened the viewer's horizons, and in which criticism had not been suppressed.

Attitudes toward the collective farm

Before approaching the comprehension of the information presented in the series as such, it may be useful to examine the attitudes of the respondents toward the collective farm and the grounds on which such attitudes are based. It appears as though in those cases in which the attitude toward the farm is based on the respondent's preconceptions, new information which conflicts with these preconceptions has not been absorbed by the respondent to any great extent. In some cases the content of the programmes was actually interpreted according to the viewer's preconceived ideas concerning the collective farm.

In a sense, the attitude of the respondents toward the series and toward the collective farm as an institution was a positive one. The collective farm was considered successful specifically as a Soviet institution. None of the respondents, on the other hand, would accept the collective farm without reserve as suitable under Finnish conditions.

> "Yes, I guess it's easier to understand now, with their conditions, that maybe there ... and with the nature of their people and their economic and historical past ... that maybe it's a bit easier to understand now, why they've adopted such a system."

Some of the respondents took a completely negative attitude toward the idea of the collective farm as a solution for Finnish agriculture; some thought that it might work in certain regions with large and continuous areas of arable land, which, however, they thought to be relatively few in number in Finland. They suspected, however, that the Finnish farmer would not adapt easily to the way of life demanded by the collective farm. The idea of the "Finnish national character" was in fact the most frequent ground for considering the collective farm unsuitable for Finland. The Finnish free peasant was seen by the respondents as slow and unsociable, and as such not well adapted to collective activity. In the course of centuries, he has become accustomed to decide himself as to the working of this farm.

> "They've got to work by the clock there, when they go to the barn ... at seven for instance ... it's different

> from this, with your own little farm, you can go at five or at six or at seven or even later if you want -- you can decide yourself ..."
> "When you've grown up and lived independent then it's obvious when you go into a collective system there's all kinds of difficulty ..."

The second rationale, mentioned with almost equal frequency, was that based on efficiency; the viewers considered that the collective farm system has been shown by time to be inefficient. The system is a rational one, but it is unable to utilize fully the energy and spirit of enterprise concealed in man.

> "Here in Finland we've got these overproduction problems, so I guess it's more efficient here ..."
> "When you're at the mercy of the weather like you are in this work, it needs a flexible rhythm, adjustment in your work, that's maybe easier for the individual than in that kind of more rigid organization."

In addition to these two most frequently presented rationales, individual respondents sometimes based their negative attitude toward the collective farm system on their own interpretations of the content of the series.

In certain cases, the viewers gave an entirely new meaning to something shown in the programmes: "They said the police came ... what was it, twice a year. If there's a crime, it must take an awfully long time to find out anything about it." In the program, the infrequency of police visits had been adduced as an example of the peacefulness of the collective farm community.

The respondents sometimes also added extra features to the matters presented in the series, changing their character fundamentally:

> "Sure they looked like they were satisfied, but ... hm ... somehow they looked like they were a bit embarassed ..."
> "I'd say that the individual person's power to influence matters there is quite little, I guess things are directed there from above."
> "... I guess they were contented with their life there and with the system, but if they don't know about anything else ..."

Sometimes matters were isolated from their context. Very frequently the harvest yields of a farm in Eastern Siberia were compared to those of Southern Finland. The respondents

also tended to forget that the collective farm is one form of rural community: "sure, we've got restaurants here too and nursery schools and things like that ... I don't know this Finnish nursery school business so well either, since I'm from the countryside ...".

Comprehension of the information contained in the series

As will have been gathered from the above, the grounds most frequently adduced for a negative attitude toward the collective farm had to do with social issues, such as the difficulty of cooperation, the lack of enterprise or the restrictions on personal freedom. There are probably many reasons for this. These preconceptions are very common and deeply rooted, and at the same time these aspects of social reality are more difficult to describe in a television film, so that more is left open to interpretation.

However, as will be shown in the following, the respondents received a great deal of new information from the series, inconsistent with their preconceived ideas as to the collective farm system. The conflict which was thus generated between information and attitude evidently caused pressure to see more negative features in the collective farm system than were inherent in the picture offered by the series. In other words, in order to prevent this conflict from becoming too great, not all of the information offered was accepted. As has already been pointed out, it is evidently difficult to convey new information as to the social aspects of the collective farm system in a television documentary, and a great deal was left open to interpretation in this respect. Most of the negative features mentioned were in fact in the social sector, and these were used as a basis for a general negative attitude toward the system. An example may perhaps be illustrative: after watching the film, the respondents might consider the collective farm system rational and effective, but their attitude was nevertheless a negative one, since they conceived of it as a "mass society". New information was thus accepted in certain

respects, but the preconception (in this case, "the collective farm creates a mass community") remains more or less unchanged, perhaps in part because it is used as the basis for a overall negative attitude toward the collective farm. Thus the conflict is kept down to reasonable proportions. The life of the private individual in the collective farm was easily seen as consistent with preconceived notions. A majority of the respondents considered that the collective farm was a mass society, characterized by the renunciation of personal freedom and an even military discipline: "You have to go along with the mob, you can't be so independent there as with us." "The freedom of the individual is maybe more restricted."

In the case of issues concerning the position of the individual, thus, the series was not able to bring new information to the viewers at least immediately, and stereotyped preconceptions were to a great extent preserved. The social advantages of the collective farm system were also frequently unperceived. In the case of the latter, there was practically no connection with the respondents' own experience; thus there was no comparison with conditions in Finland, and in many cases the benefits were not perceived at all. Very few of the respondents saw the advantages of the collective farm system as compared to the Finnish countryside as lying in the greater amount of services available, in being less tied down or in the vacation opportunities. This was evidently another means of decreasing conflict.

On the other hand, it is clear that deeply rooted preconceptions, concerning for example the position of the individual in the collective farm, do not change easily, and that an interview directly following presentation of the film will not reveal possible changes in attitude taking place over a longer period of time. The same is naturally true of the perception of the advantages of the collective farm system; the interviews do not allow us to say whether associations with the individual's own experience might not take place later on, i.e. whether what they had seen did not

remain in the back of their minds. There were naturally changes observable in the way the position of the individual was perceived, as in other sectors.

> "We Finns, we've got to look at it with imagination. The interviewer asked them there if they're sort of forced to do everything, and they said no it isn't like that. They can sleep like they want to and go to bed when they feel like it ... nobody comes to tell them now they've got to go to bed."

When we come to economic and technical aspects of the collective farm, the situation is entirely different. As we have already noted, the farming-viewers followed the film with great interest, and compared the Soviet practice to that of Finland from the point of view of their own occupation. In the case of practical aspects of farming (tools, methods, etc.) this comparison process was probably quite automatic. The respondents also recalled everything related to the practical aspects of farming - machines, cultivation techniques, rakes, cows. "It was like -- like in a dream, when they used that great big earth-mover to compress the fodder."

It is in fact obvious that the connection with the viewer's own experience, necessary for comprehension, is easiest in the case of the practical work of the farm. "It's a bit - sort of different there, but their methods are the same." Furthermore, the functioning of a large-scale farm economy was sufficiently interesting, from its most general features to the level of practice, to those who were themselves farmers to create a high level of motivation to follow the program. The interest aroused was reflected also in the fact that the series seemed to rouse the viewers to intellectual activity. Many of the viewers would have wanted additional information about the functioning of the collective farm, on the one hand with respect to quite practical matters -- what the farm members do in the winter, how much of their pay goes for necessary expenses, etc. The viewers wanted to know in complete detail how the farm member spends his time from morning to night, including the most tedious and disagreeable things.

On the other hand, the respondents would also have liked more information about the broader aspects of collective farm activity - how the sale of produce is organized, how prices are determined, what state taxes are like, etc.

> "I didn't understand from that, I mean, how do they pay taxes ... of course they can't have all that land for free ... or is it included in the prices they get ... no, this business of taxes isn't clear at all."

Thus the picture provided by the series needed supplementary information to provide a full picture from the point of view of the farmer.

The second topic which aroused a great deal of interest and comparison was that of wages and the livelihood earned by the collective farm members. The level of pay and the external standard of living were compared to that of their own community.

> "Sure it looked as if they got along all right, but they didn't show very much about good things, like cars and such ... like have they got such things at all ... it looked like their standard of living is adapted to their income, so they get along on it."

As an interesting detail, those with the most negative general attitude recalled the pay as very low. In general, however, the respondents recalled the high wages which were mentioned in the film, and were surprised at how high they were. Very few recalled the average wage, which had been mentioned in the second part of the series. In addition, individual respondents noted similarities and differences with regard to the extent of cooperation and competition, parliamentary procedures, etc.

> "I was amazed the whole time at the devotion which the members showed toward the farm ... you wouldn't find anything like that in Finland."

In some few cases, the collective farm was compared to conditions elsewhere in the Soviet Union (e.g. to factory work or in general to urban life), but in general the information possessed by the respondents was evidently insufficient for this. An aspect brought out in all interviews was the rationality of farming, and most of the respondents were surprised at the level of pay, administrative

democracy, freedom of movement, etc.

> "It saves the community money, if they can get such big wholes, and mechanization can be pushed further ..."
> "It was a surprise to me, that they've got such pay there ... so high, that was quite amazing ..."
> "It seemed to be quite broadly based, this deciding about things ..."

After watching the series, most of the respondents saw some advantages in the collective organization of farming, most often in the rational use of machinery. Other factors mentioned in individual cases were being tied down less (in case of sickness, for instance), the lack of pressure or risk, the high standard of services, company when one wants it, etc. All the respondents considered that some growth had taken place in the farm.

To sum up, the respondents were able to obtain a picture of the ways in which the collective farm functions in practice; the degree of mechanization, the effectiveness of cultivation, the methods used, the nature of the local administration, the wages paid and the livelihood earned, the type of housing, the possibilities of moving etc. In other words, they formed a picture of the e x t e r n a l framework of the way in which the collective farm works, a picture which we are fully justified in saying was almost entirely new to the respondents.

In comparison, comprehension of the information presented by the programmes concerning social aspects of the collective farm was relatively slight. These are powerfully integrated into old preconceptions (and simultaneously into basic values), and since they are also more difficult to convey they provide an opportunity for the viewer's own interpretations, influenced by pressure from the conflict between the new information and the old conceptions. Technical and economic aspects, on the other hand, were more familiar and in a way "incontrovertible", and as such were easier to relate to the respondents' own experience, thus creating good conditions for comprehension.

Kauko Pietilä

7. FIELD INTERVIEWS BEFORE AND AFTER THE BROADCAST

The sample and the interviews

This part of the research, like the mail questionnaire described in Chapter 5, took the form of a panel study. Altogether 179 farmers and farmwives, from nine rural communities, were interviewed in March 1971 prior to the broadcast of the series on the collective farm. The interviews were carried out about a month before the broadcast. Of these 179 respondents, 153 were reached for interviews after the broadcast. The latter interviews took place in April 1971, four to seven days after the broadcast of the last part of the series. The dropout was thus 26 persons or 14.5 % of the original sample.

Of the nine rural municipalities included in the sample, seven were located in the more developed area of Finland; this part of the sample included 138 respondents, of whom 115 were carried over to the second interview phase also. Two communities were chosen from the underdeveloped part of the country, and accounted for 41 members of the original sample, of whom three could not be reached for the second interview.

It was decided to limit the sample to farmers only, since in a sense the collective farm program was an agricultural one, and since it was thought that the series might present Finnish farmers with unfamiliar models and alternatives with regard to the problems of agricultural production.

The choice of the "before-and-after" or panel research model was a natural one in view of our objektive, which was to discover what effect viewing the program series had on the viewers' concepts of the collective farm and of farming problems in general, and thus how the series had reached the viewers and been comprehended. The research design thus somewhat resembled the regular experimental research model.

The interview technique used in this study was slightly exceptional, in that open-ended questions were used almost exclusively. In other words, the respondent was not provided with ready-made alternative answers. The questions were furthermore formulated in such a way as to require a sentence or two in response, an opinion and its reason, rather than a mere "yes" or "no". Thus we asked, for example, "What is farming like nowadays?", "What is your opinion regarding the agricultural surplus problems we are having?", "How, to your knowledge, is the collective farm organized in practice?", "What is good or bad in the collective farm system?", etc.

Since the preliminary pilot study showed that it was impossible to write down the answers by hand while interviewing, the interviews therefore had to be taped. Almost all the interviews were taken down in this way, and only in a few cases did the responses have to be taken down by hand, when the respondent had refused to have the interview taped or when the tape recorder had broken down. There were only a few such cases in each round of interviews. The total material consisted of approximately 170 taped interview hours.

The reliability of the data

As has already been noted, the questions used were almost exclusively open-ended ones. The answers to such questions are not yet in themselves variables susceptible to statistical handling; the research variables had first to be constructed by means of content analysis. This form of analysis means in principle that the classifier seeks out certain predetermined features from the responses, and estimates their strength in the case of each individual respondent. The reliability of such a classification is easiest to control by having two different persons classify the same material on the basis of the same categories. The closer the two results are, the more reliable the classifications.

In this research, reliability checks were carried out for only a small part of the material. The results can neverthe-

less be generalized to all the data. A parallel classification was performed for 41 interviews, and the extent to which the two results coincided can be expressed in terms of correlation coefficients. The three variable clusters classified yielded correlations of 0.75, 0.78 and 0.73. Since the coefficient of maximal or total similarity would be 1, the reliability level achieved may be considered adequate. The reliability level is apparently independent of the type of variable, since all three coefficients are almost the same.

Images of the collective farm

The respondents were asked about their conceptions of attitudes toward and information about the collective farm as a form of agricultural production; the same questions were asked on both occasions, before and after the broadcast of the collective farm series. Each time all the respondents had at least something to say about the collective farm; some of them very little, some a great deal. The answers given by each individual respondent form his image of the collective farm, i.e. his view of what a collective farm actually is and what the term means to him. The purpose of the following analysis is to show how the program series on the collective farm in Eastern Siberia has affected the respondents' images of the collective farm. Images concerning the collective farm -- like those about anything else -- may consist of the most varied ingredients. Images are constructed of almost limitless components, and it is unlikely that any research or analysis would be able to include, examine or take into account all of them. These components can be divided into at least three main categories, which probably include at least the most important aspects of images.

The first of these categories might include a list of the things to which people pay attention or which they talk about when they are asked about the collective farm. One respondent may, for instance, be concerned with the efficiency and

rationality of the farm, another with the hard workingnature and sense of responsibility of the farm members, and a third with both of these aspects.

The second main category would deal with various attitudes and value judgements. In the case of our first respondent, for instance, he probably will not only direct his attention to the efficiency and rationality of the collective farm, but will also express his estimate of the collective farm's efficiency. He may say, for example, that it is an inefficient form of production.

The third category would comprise our respondent's actual information concerning the collective farm. What people know about the collective farm -- and about other things as well -- can be approached in various ways. We can, for example, examine whether the information is true or false. We might, further, be interested in what kind of information in general is true and what kind is false. Again, we might ask about what kind of things in general people have a great deal of information and about what things only a little.

It will be perceived that the collective farm series broadcast on television may well have affected all these aspects of the viewers' images of the collective farm in one way or another. The program may be have directed the viewer's attention to quite new matters, so that aspects of the collective farm which in the first interview were prominent and emphasized will now be eclipsed by other matters. The programmes may also have affected people's attitudes toward various aspects of the collective farm; it may have made them more positive or more negative. It is self-evident that the programmes may also have increased the amount of information about the collective farm possessed by the viewers.

Following of the series by the respondents

The following table shows the extent to which the series and each of its parts were followed by the respondents.

Table 1. Viewing the various parts of the programmes by the research sample.

	Not at all	some-what	comple-tely	total
Part I (Monday Apr. 5th)	60 %	14 %	26 %	100 %
Part II (Friday, Apr. 16th)	58 %	18 %	24 %	100 %
Part III (Mon. Apr. 19th)	62 %	17 %	21 %	100 %
N				153

As the table indicates, there has been a slight decrease in the extent of viewing from the first part of the series to the last. This decrease is, it is true, very slight, but it indicates that the series has not at any rate been able to add to the interest it has attracted, so that for instance those who had watched the first part somewhat would have watched the next two parts completely. Taking one part at a time, a mean of 40 % of the sample watched each part either in part or in total.

Altogether 20 persons or 13 % of the sample said that they had watched all three parts of the series from beginning to end. In addition, 89 persons or 58 % of the sample had watched at least one part of the series to some extent. The other 64 persons or 42 % of the sample had not watched the programmes at all.

It is frequently claimed, and has in fact been shown, that in mass communication people select such information as is consistent with their own views, opinions and values, and avoid information conflicting with them. It has also been shown that information which would endanger the receiver's world view or threaten his personality structure is avoided and rejected. With regard to the present programmes -- Paasilinna's documentary series of the collective farm -- we may safely assume that it presents the Soviet collective farm in quite another light from which most of our respondents have been accustomed to seeing it. The analysis of the data nevertheless showed that the respondent's attitude toward the collective farm, or toward various aspects of it, was almost

unrelated to whether or not he watched the series; those who demonstrated a particularly negative attitude in the first interview watched the programmes more or less to the same extent as those with more positive attitudes. Preconceived ideas and attitudes thus has only very slight effects the amount of viewing.

Changes in the collective farmimages, I:
What aspects attract attention

We may ask, whether there is any reason to expect the collective farm series to have affected or altered the viewers conceptions of the collective farm. Taking into account such factors as the highly negative views of a large majority of the respondents and their more or less equally frequent correct and incorrect information of the collective farm on the one hand, and the neutral attitude and large amount of information presented by the programmes on the other, some effect may well be expected. The series broadcast has thus clearly provided an opportunity for intellectual re-orientation or readjustment of ideas. On the other hand, it provided only very little support for the prevailing attitudes toward the collective farm, but rather was in clear conflict with them. We may in fact say that the series conflicted clearly with the prevalent information, conceptions and attitudes regarding the collective farm.

Such conflicting information is often thought to lead to changes which eliminate or at least alleviate the conflict. One way of accomplishing this is to redirect one's attention to new matters and in a new way.

For each round of interviews, the attention of the respondents toward six clusters of factors was measured. Our aim was a quantitative scale: the cluster might not appear at all in the respondent's image of the collective farm, it might appear in passing or as of peripheral importance, or it might assume central significance and receive frequent emphasis.

The first cluster was that of the ownership of the means

of production in the collective farm. This was involved when the respondents said that the collective farm meant joint cultivation of land, that the machines were collectively owned or that the state owned the farm, the land or the machines, or when they spoke of the collective farm as socialized farming.

The second cluster of components was that of the significance of these property relations, i.e. when the respondents emphasized the importance and significance of private property, or when they saw as the main difference between the collective farm and the Finnish farm the fact that Finnish farmers own their land and machines themselves.

In the third cluster the attention of the respondents was concentrated on questions of decision-making, authority and freedom in the collective farm. Many of the respondents claimed that in the collective farm the state decides about how much of what shall be produced, or that the farm members decide this among themselves; that the state pays the farm workers their wages or that the income from what is produced is divided up aqually among the members of the farm, and that decision-making power and freedom are slight or restricted.

Those who directed their attention toward the fourth cluster of factors emphasized the importance of being able to make one's own decisions, or of personal freedom. These were the respondents who said they preferred the freedom and autonomy of the Finnish farmer to the situation of the collective farm member, or who claimed that the Finnish farmer is free and the collective farm member is not.

In the fifth cluster the respondents directed their attention toward the efficiency of the collective farm, talking about such things as the extent of production of the farm, its rationality, the hard work and enterprise of the farm members or their sense of responsibility.

Finally, the sixth cluster was that of the industrial character of the collective farm. The industrial character included the big-business character of the collective farm,

the wages paid to the farm members, the way in which working hours were arranged and jobs and tasks divided up in the farm, the working norms etc. These six clusters together attracted the most attention in the interviews and accounted for most of what was said about the collective farm.

In examining changes in the way the respondents' attention was directed, we divided the respondents up into three groups, according to the extent of viewing: the heavy viewers, the light viewers, and the non-viewers. Each respondent's answers were measured along six quantitative scales, corresponding to the six clusters of concepts described above, and were assigned a particular numerical value. The means of these variables, in all three groups of respondents and for both rounds of interviews, were then calculated. The difference between the means expresses the amount of change between the first interview and the second. The influence of the series appears when we compare the change in the group of non-viewers to those taking place in the two groups of viewers.

According to these figures, the concept clusters most important before the broadcast was that related to autonomy of decision-making and to freedom in the collective farm. Least attention was directed toward the significance of pricate ownership of the means of production. This order was preserved more or less unchanged in the second round of interviews, with one exception: the efficiency of the collective farm seems to have gained in significance. The series has brought people to pay more attention than before to the efficiency and rationality of the collective farm system, and to the enterprise and responsibility of the collective farm members. In this respect, the programmes have evidently expanded the views of those who watched it. Similar changes do not take place in the other clusters analyzed.

The second step was to set up a variable of change for each concept cluster, by subtracting the result of the first measurement from that of the second. Further manipulation of

this variable yields an index of the relative net change in one direction or another. Table 2 shows, by means of such figures, the changes in the focus of attention which may be attributed to the programmes. The table also gives the statistical significance of the scores.

Table 2. Changes in the way attention is focussed; the net change of non-viewers is subtracted from the net change scores of heavy viewers and light viewers, and the significance of the result is tested.

	Difference between non-viewers and light viewers, in %-units	Difference between non-viewers and heavy viewers, in %-units
Ownership relations in the collective farm	+ 5.7 n.s.[1]	+ 11.0 n.s.
Importance of private ownership of means of production	+ 30.0 $p < .05$	+ 21.3 $p < .10$
Decision-making and freedom in the collective farm	± 0.0 n.s.	+ 13.9 n.s.
Importance of own decision-making and individual freedom	- 2.6 n.s.	- 1.7 n.s.
Efficiency of collective farm	+ 47.8 $p < .01$	+ 45.5 $p < .01$
Industrial nature of collective farm	- 0.9 n.s.	+ 17.4 n.s.

[1] n.s. ... not significant

A positive figure in Table 2 means that the pgorammes have increased the prominence of a given factor in images of collective farm, i.e. that the program has drawn the attention of the viewers to that matter. A negative figure means that the attention of the viewers has been shifted away from the issue in question.

As we see from Table 2, the broadcast of the series has increased the amount of attention directed to two factors:

the importance of private ownership of the means of production, and the efficiency of the collective farm. In part, then, the table brings out again what we have already spoke of: it appears that the series has brought the attention of the viewers to bear particularly on matters related to the efficiency of the collective farm. It has perhaps also brought the viewers to reject the idea of the collective farm even more decisively than before, since the importance of private ownership of the means of production is now stressed to a greater extent.

Since the figures pertaining to those who watched a great deal of the series tend to be higher than those pertaining to light viewers it is possible that the more of the series they watched the greater was the expansion of the viewers image of the collective farm. This means that the more of the programmes a respondent watched, the more opinions and ideas concerning the collective farm he expressed.

Summing up, we may say that the program series has evidently expanded people's images of the collective farm. Technical and economic factors in particular were now central in these images. Some other findings indicated that by adding new components to the collective farm image, a positive attitude toward the farm was created as far as these new elements are considered. Finally, we noted that the changes in focus of attention were unrelated to each other; thus the increased attention paid to efficiency characteristics did not take place at the expense of some other factor. This observation lends further support to the view that the effect of the series has been to expand the viewers' images.

Changes in collective farm images, II:
Changes in attitudes and evaluations

Attitudes toward the collective farm were measured by eight variables. These were:

(1) Attitudes toward the ownership and decision-making relations in the collective farm

(2) Evaluation of the efficiency of the collective farm
(3) Attitudes toward the industrial character of the collective farm
(4) Evaluation of the status of the individual and his life in the collective farm
(5) General attitude toward the collective farm
(6) Attitude toward the collective farm as one possible basic solution to the problem of agricultural production
(7) Attitude toward the practical realization of the collective farm idea
(8) Estimate of the suitability of the collective farm under Finnish conditions.

In general, all these attitudes toward the collective farm were found to be highly negative. The sample means for the first round of interviews were clearly negative for all eight variables.

As an example of these negative attitudes, we may take the respondents' estimates of the suitability of the collective farm for Finnish agriculture. In the first interviews (preceding the broadcast), 83 % considered the collective farm as unsuitable for Finland, 12 % were undecided and 5 % thought it might work here too. In the second round, the corresponding figures were 83 %, 7 % and 10 %. Thus a large majority - which did not quantitatively change from one interview to the next - considered the collective farm impossible for themselves or for Finland in general. In the small remainder of the sample, a slight change in favor of the collective farm seems to have taken place.

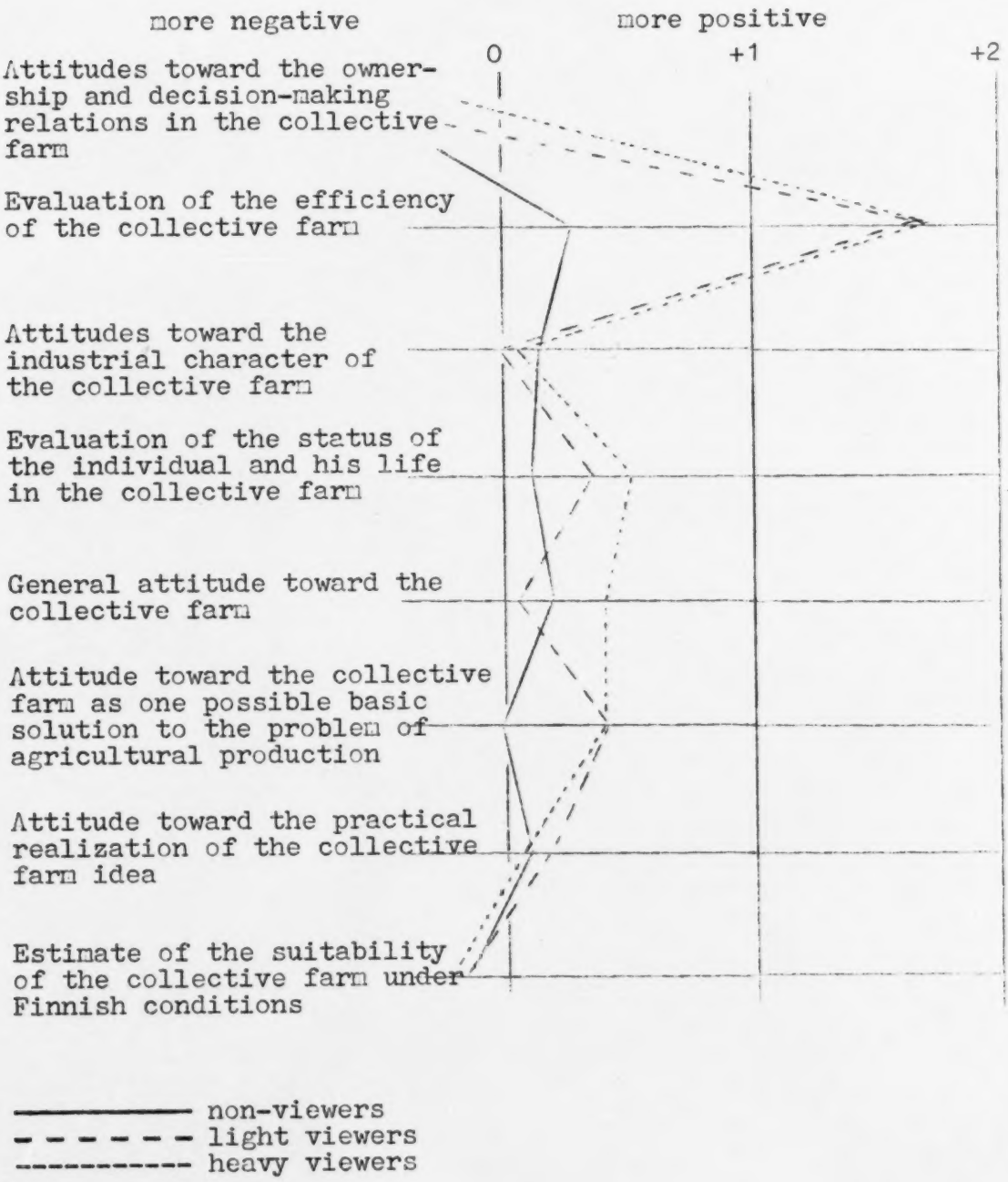
The reason given most often in the first interviews for the unacceptability of the collective farm was that of the Finnish national character, the obstinacy of Finnish farmers and their farming customs (31 %). The next most frequent reasons were references to the right of private property, individual freedom and autonomy of decision-making (28 %). The third group of reasons had to do with natural conditions and the smallness and dispersed character of fields in

Finland (11 %) and with efficiency (11 %). Factors such as security and comfort, income and earnings were mentioned only rarely; on the other hand, these last-mentioned were sometimes adduced as reasons for the contrary opinion, as factors in favor of the collective farm.

The series did not have any great effect on the relative order of these reasons, and there was some evidence that the more the respondent had watched the programmes, the appeal to Finnish national character was less frequent. Correspondingly, the more the programmes had been watched, the more often the respondent was likely to point to the unsuitability of Finnish agricultural conditions for collective farming. Efficiency, security and comfort, livelihood and pay were mentioned clearly more often during the second round of interviews than during the first, as reasons in favor of the collective farm.

In order to analyze changes in attitude, the respondents were again divided into three groups according to extent of viewing. For each group and for both rounds of interviews, the means of the attitude variables and their differences were computed. These differences between means, i.e. changes in attitude, are shown in Figure 1. The greatest change seems again to have taken place in attitude toward the technical and economic characteristics of the collective farm; in this respect, the attitude toward the collective farm has become more positive. A very slight change in a positive direction can also be observed in the estimates of the individual's status and life in the farm, and in attitudes of principle. It is worth noting that the series has not caused attitudes to become more negative in any respect.

Figure 1. Changes in the means of attitude variables between two rounds of interviews in different viewing groups.


more negative
more positive
0
+1
+2
Attitudes toward the ownership and decision-making relations in the collective farm
Evaluation of the efficiency of the collective farm
Attitudes toward the industrial character of the collective farm
Evaluation of the status of the individual and his life in the collective farm
General attitude toward the collective farm
Attitude toward the collective farm as one possible basic solution to the problem of agricultural production
Attitude toward the practical realization of the collective farm idea
Estimate of the suitability of the collective farm under Finnish conditions
non-viewers
light viewers
heavy viewers

As in the preceding section, a variable of change was set up for each attitude variable, by subtracting the values for the first measurement from those of the second. These changes were then compared in each extent-of-viewing group. It was found that the programmes had not changed attitudes or evaluations to a statistically significant extent in any group as not a single significant change was to be found. As such, this observation is inconsistent with Fig. 1, which shows a clear shift toward a positive attitude in the case of estimates of the efficiency of the collective farm. This inconsistency is explained by the fact that Fig. 1 includes both those who estimated the efficiency of the collective farm during both interviews and those who did so only on the second occasion. When this situation was analyzed more closely, it was found that when the efficiency of the farm had been estimated already before the series broadcast, the program was unable to affect these estimates. In other words, the programmes did not bring about any actual significant change in estimates of the efficiency of the collective farm. On the other hand, the series was capable of bringing about positive evaluations, on condition that the respondent began to think about the matter only after the programmes, and due to its influence. The factor of efficiency, together with that of the hard work and enterprise of the collective farm members, were the only areas in which statistically significant deviations could be observed, and in which the television programmes were able, not to change former attitudes, but to create new ones.

The effects of the television programmes in the area of estimates of efficiency were of three kinds. Firstly, there was one group of respondents who, under the influence of the program, now began to evaluate the collective farm from the point of view of its efficiency. Secondly, these same individuals estimated the farm's efficiency as considerably higher than the other respondents. Thirdly, the more central factors of efficiency are in the collective farm images of this group of respondents, the more positively they evaluate

these factors, whereas with the other respondents the situation is the exact reverse.

All in all, we can conclude that the program series has evidently been unable to mitigate the fairly sharp negative attitudes toward the collective farm. On the other hand, it is probable that with respect to the technical and economic aspects of the collective farm, the programmes have been able to create new and positive attitudes. There is in fact nothing surprising in the fact that the programmes have been unable to bring about any actual changes in attitude; it has in general (or at least in political sciences) been found that it is a fairly difficult task to achieve changes in attitude by means of mass communication. In this study we are not, it is true, dealing with strictly political attitudes, although some of the respondents experienced the matter as a political one and the program series as a piece of propaganda. The idea of the collective farm is nevertheless probably a matter of sore feelings to the Finnish farmer, whose way of working is generally considered individualistic. Collective ownership, joint decision-making and cooperative activity are issues on which the negative attitudes toward the collective farm are at least in part focussed. Underlying these attitudes there is also a general negative attitude toward the Soviet Union. Thus, while the question of the collective farm is not in itself a political one, there is a fairly clear connection with political attitudes, as appears from the following table.

Table 3. General attitudes toward the collective farm among supporters of different political views in the first and second interview.

Political position	General attitude toward the coll. farm first interview	second interview	N
Communist	+ 0.17	+ 1.83	6
Social democrat	- 1.70	- 1.50	10
Small farmers' party	- 1.38	- 1.35	61
Agrarian (center)	- 1.39	- 1.50	18
Conservative	- 1.55	- 0.89	22
Refused to answer	- 1.27	- 0.96	26
didn't know	- 1.20	- 1.30	10
total			153

The table shows the clear boundary which exists between the most left-wing party and the others. This is in no way surprising, considering the topic of the research: Soviet agriculture and attitudes concerning it.

A detailed analysis of the interviews of certain respondents who had viewed the programmes nevertheless indicated that the series had not been entirely without effect: under certain conditions, it may have brought about quite considerable changes in attitude. These conditions apparently involve at the very least the absence of a connection between the negative attitude toward the collective farm and an anti-Soviet ideology or antileft political values; the negative attitude might rather be based on inaccurate information about the collective farm. Finally, we may mention what seems to be indicated by a few results: that the programmes might have been able to alter in a positive direction those negative attitudes which were based on misinformation, but not those which were based on correct information.

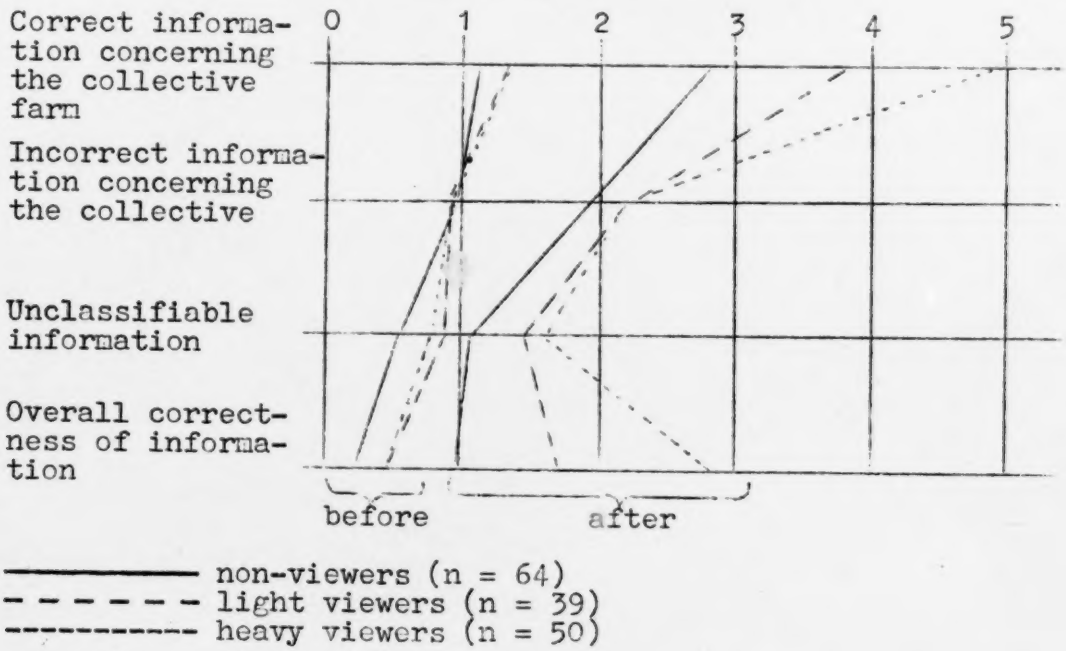
Changes in collective farm images, III:
Cognitive comprehension of the collective farm series

The third main category of collective farm images is the cognitive or informational one. Most of the respondents brought forth at least some items of information concerning the collective farm in both interviews. Some of this information was true, while another part of it was false. In addition, the respondents also brought out items of information which could not be classified as either true or false. For each of the interviews, three variables measuring the level of information were set up: (1) the number of correct items of information, (2) the number of incorrect items, and (3) the number of unclassifiable items. It should be noted that these categories include only generalized information concerning the collective farm; this is meant to exclude those items of information pertaining specifically to the "Lenin's Road" farm presented in the series. On the basis

of the first two variables, a combined variable was formed by subtracting, for each respondent individually, the number of correct items from the number of incorrect items. This variable measures the overall correctness of information. If the respondent has shown more correct than incorrect information, the variable assumes a positive value but if the amount of incorrect information is greater than that of correct information then the value of the variable is negative.

For purposes of analysis, the respondents were again divided into three groups according to the extent of viewing. For each group and for each interview, the mean amounts of different kinds of information were measured. The results are shown in Figure 2.

Figure 2. Level of information in variables measuring generalized information before and after broadcasts in different viewing groups.



The relation between viewing time and the number of correct and incorrect observations is presented in table 4.

Table 4. The average number of correct, incorrect and unclassifiable observations in different viewing groups.

	The viewing time (mean)			
	15 min n = 17	30 min n = 22	52 min n = 30	90 min n = 20
The average number of correct observations	4.29	6.41	5.03	7.84
The average number of incorrect observations	1.12	1.91	1.20	1.55
The average number of unclassifiable observations	0.53	0.77	0.97	0.80

As the figure indicates, before the broadcast of the series all three groups had about the same amount of information, both true and false, concerning the collective farm. The largest category was that of correct information, the second that of incorrect information and the smallest that of unclassifiable information. In all three groups the number of items of true information was greater than that of false information, although the difference was very small being at its greatest only about one half of an item.

The effect of the program series appears very clearly from Figure 2. The more a respondent has watched the series, the more correct generalizations he can make concerning the collective farm. On the other hand, the broadcast does not seem to have affected the amount of false information, which continues to be about equal in all groups.

There are some problems involved in the interpretation of Fig. 2, arising from the interviewing method used, which due be lack of space it is not possible to go into here. In spite of these difficulties, we can definitely conclude that

the series has been able to increase the number of correct generalizations about the collective farm.

It has already been mentioned that respondents who had watched the programmes brought out in their answers in the second interview not only generalizations concerning the collective farm system but also information concerning the particular farm described in the series. Such information can be considered as immediate observations of the content of the programmes. For this type of information likewise three variables were formed, comprising 1) correct observations, 2) incorrect observations, including additions to the real content, obvious distortions of the content and claims that information which actually had been presented in the programmes had not been included, and 3) unclassifiable observations.

The average number of correct observations increased from about four for those who had watched very little of the program to almost eight for those who had watched all three parts in their entirety. We can thus claim that the more a respondent has watched the programmes, the more correct details he is able to recall concerning its content. The number of incorrect or of unclassifiable observations presented was very small compared to that of correct observations; the ocurrence of the former was fairly random.

In the second interview, those respondents who had watched the programmes were given a brief recall test about the contents of the series. The results corresponded fairly closely to those described above: the more a respondent had watched the programmes, the better his performance in the recall test.

The recall of various items in this test is shown in Table 5.

Table 5. The results of the recall test.

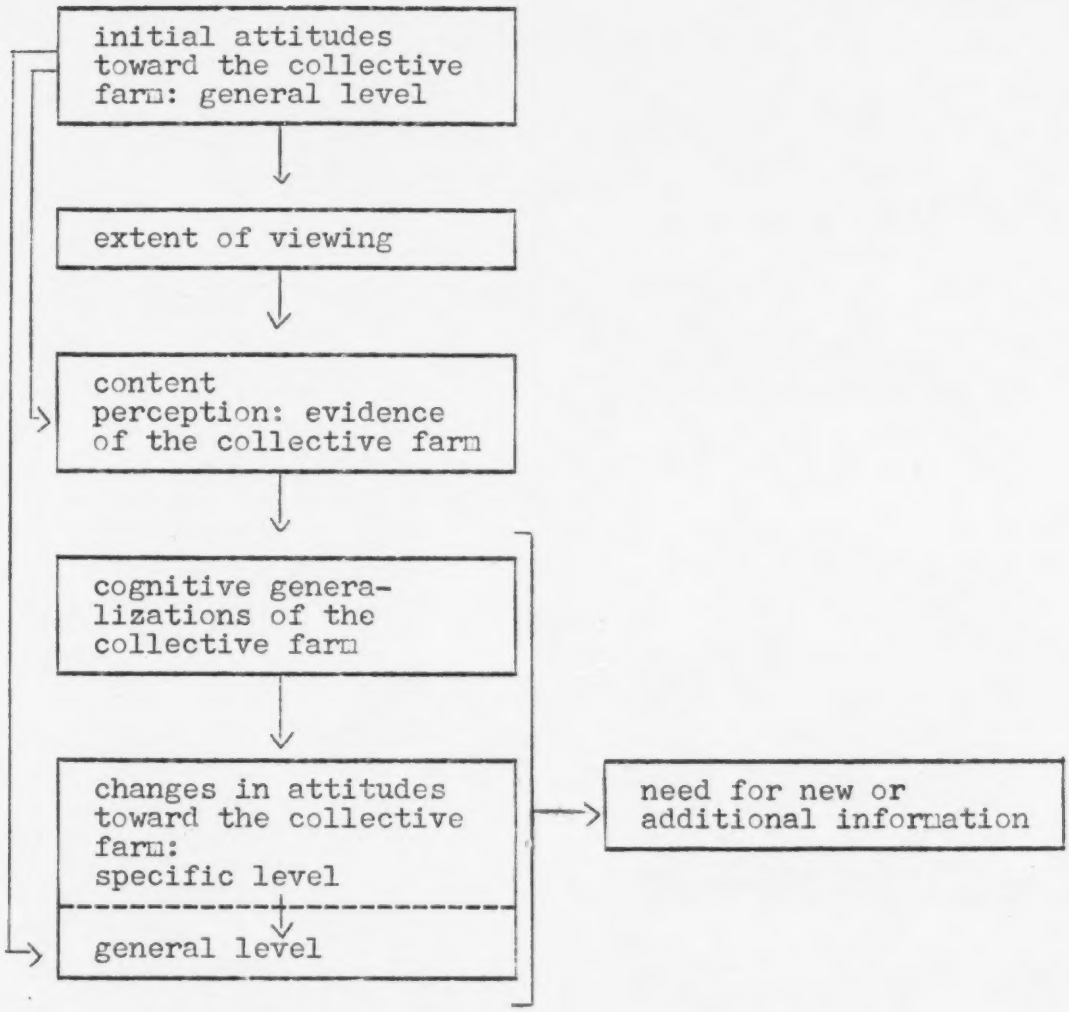
Item	1 Not re-called	2 Re-called incorr.	3 1 + 2	4 Re-called partly corr.	5 Re-called compl. corr.	6 Total
Location of the Lenin's Road collective farm	19.1	3.4	22.5	70.8	6.7	100
Administration of the farm	19.1	5.6	24.7	73.1	2.2	100
Various leisure-time pursuits available	32.6	1.1	33.7	52.8	13.5	100
Do the workers earn the same pay	31.4	5.6	37.0	58.5	4.5	100
Arrangement of care of children during work	42.8	2.2	45.0	55.0	-	100
How does one become a member of the farm	42.7	3.4	46.1	46.0	7.9	100
Ownership of the houses	26.9	36.0	62.9	4.5	32.6	100
Amount of arable land	68.6	6.7	75.3	23.6	1.1	100
Mean monthly earnings of farm workers	71.9	3.4	75.3	18.0	6.7	100
Arrangement of vacations of farm workers	77.5	5.6	83.1	16.9	-	100
Number of inhabitants	79.8	9.0	88.8	4.5	6.7	100

One interesting aspect of these findings is that matters related to the life and functioning of the farm are recalled almost without exception relatively accurately. The administration of the farm, leisure time opportunities, the system of pay, care of the children and the recruitment of new members were recalled correctly either in part or in whole by over half the respondents. Only two items of this

type were recalled correctly by a minority of the sample: the ownership of the dwelling houses and the arrangement of vacations. The latter was mentioned in the program only in passing, so that its poor recall is not surprising. The poor score for the item concerning ownership of homes is due to the fact that a considerable number of respondents recalled this item incorrectly: 36 % claimed that the members' homes are owned by the state or by the collective farm, even though it was brought out fairly clearly in the series that collective farm members own their own homes just as in Finland. This is the only item for which incorrect recall was common.

The recall of statistical information was quite poor. Figures concerning field area, monthly pay and the number of inhabitants were recalled partly or wholly correctly by under one fourth of the sample. Such information, it is true, is not at all important, nor was the purpose of the series the communication of precise statistical information of this type.

A closer examination of the relations between initial attitudes toward the collective farm, the extent of viewing, correct perception of the content of the series, cognitive generalization on the basis of perceptual information and changes in specific and general attitudes toward the collective farm showed the following model of program comprehension quite likely. Only viewers of the programmes were included in this analysis:


initial attitudes toward the collective farm: general level
extent of viewing
content perception: evidence of the collective farm
cognitive generalizations of the collective farm
changes in attitudes toward the collective farm:
specific level
general level
need for new or additional information

It was thus possible to show that in a sense the collective farm series was an effective piece of communication: the effect of the message was not restricted to mere perception or observation, but was also able - at least to a certain extent - to bring under way independent processes of thought in the mind of the viewers. As a concequence of these processes the viewers seem to have arrived at generalizations concerning the collective farm, which were not all directly presented in the programmes, but could only be inferred form the contents of the programmes, and which furthermore were apparently valid inferences. It is not possible here to describe the process of analysis in full.

We have been able to conclude that the cognitive aspect of

collective farm images has been fairly open to new stimuli from the broadcast; the amount of information possessed by the respondents was observed to have increased as a result of the programmes. As we found in the preceding section, the attitudinal and evaluational aspect of people's images of the collective farm was almost closed to new stimuli. Attitudes and value judgments altered only indirectly as a result of the series. Since, however, these two aspects can be distinguished in every single image, it would seem that a state of tension has arisen between the two as a result of the series broadcast.

In general, information and attitudes tend to be consistent. For instance attitudes channel the reception of information (although in this study only very slightly), and the latter serve in turn as a basis for the former. In this research we found that information may change a lot while attitudes remain almost static. From the dependency between information and attitudes, we might conclude that a kind of barrier had been errected between the two. As a concequence of the programmes they no longer corresponded to each other as well as before. <u>One effect of the programmes thus seems to have been the partial breakdown of former informational or cognitive structures.</u> Such a separation between information and attitudes, however, is probably not a very stable phenomenon; it is highly likely that changes will take place to eliminate the conflict between the two. In all probability, information will gradually return to its original state and that which was received from the program will be actively forgotten. This is probably the easiest way to return to a state of equilibrium, in spite of the empirically probable model of program comprehension presented above.

Jyrki Jyrkiäinen

8. PRESS COMMENTS AND THE SPONTANEOUS AUDIENCE REACTION

In this section we consider the spontaneous audience reaction which was aroused by the programmes on the collective farm. This includes all articles and reviews in the newspaper and periodical press, telephone calls to the television studio, and letters.

The material covers the period of April 5th to June 14th 1971. The journalistic material includes editorial articles, interviews, editorial leaders, cartoons and letters from the public.

There were altogether 22 reviews or other articles concerning the series. Seventeen of these were in newspapers and five in magazines.

Advance information was published by 22 different newspapers, two magazines and one local paper; there were altogether 37 items of such information, of which 87 % were in the newspapers. Of all the advance information, 51 % was published prior to the broadcast of the first part of the series, 38 % before the second part and 11 % before the third. Of the advance information published before the date of the first part of the series, 59 % (10 items) were in the right-wing press and 41 % (7 items) in the left-wing press. Of the information published after the first part of the series had been broadcast, 60 % (9 items) were in the socialist press and 40 % (6 items) in the non-socialist press.[1]

The attitude toward the series expressed in the press was positive in 50 % of all articles, neutral in 27 % and negative in 23 %. All of the negative reactions occurred in the right-wing press; three in non-affiliated bourgeeois papers and two in papers published by the conservative party. None

[1] Some 90 % of the Finnish press, according to circulation, is non-socialist.

of the four mentions in the conservative press had been written by the editors or reviewers; all four came from the public, two negative ones in the readers's section proper and two positive ones in a television column asking about the readers' opinions concerning the radio and television programmes of the day. Of the center-party newspapers, only one published a review of the series, and that on two occasions. The attitude of the left-wing press was highly positive; three papers published a positive article by the editor and one a neutral one and there was also one positive letter from a reader.

In addition to these reactions in the press, there were altogether 24 telephone calls and one letter to the Broadcasting Company. The number of calls increased as the series progressed; after the first part there were five calls and during or after the last part twelve calls. Of all the calls, 71 % were positive and 25 % negative. A positive attitude was expressed by 70 % of both men and women. The one letter likewise expressed a positive attitude.

The collective farm series did not arouse any great reaction in the press. Silence was typical of the right-wing press; only three non-aligned and one center-party paper published a review by the editor. The negative reactions were all in the largest paper of a given area.

All in all, the spontaneous reactions to the series were marked by a high degree of positiveness and by a silence and absence of factual criticism due to the matter-of-fact and undeniable information transmitted by the program. In general, the public expressed its gratitude for the series, which provided factual information in an area in which it has long been lacking.

9. SUMMARY OF THE RESULTS

The results of the various investigations dealing with the comprehension of the television series "A collective farm in Eastern Siberia" are presented in the preceding five sections (six if we include section no. 3, on the audience). Each section forms an independent investigation with its own set of data. All five sets of data were collected using different methods. These were 1) the telephone interview, 2) the mail questionnaire, 3) the viewing test, 4) personal interviews in the field, and 5) a recording of the spontaneous reactions aroused by the program series. As a sixth source of data, we may include the measurement of the audience, taking place outside the project proper.

The investigations inte the comprehension of the programmes concentrated in four areas: 1) the following of the programmes and viewing activity, 2) attitudes toward the programmes themselves, 3) conceptions of the collective farm and attitudes toward it, and 4) the intellectual comprehension of the programmes.

The following of the programmes

Summing up what we know about the viewing of the programmes, we may say that this particular documentary series was an exceptionally interesting one. While viewing activity was consistent with normal viewing habits and opportunities, the data nevertheless revealed certain special groups which had followed the series with clearly greater interest than others. Such groups were farmers and workers. Activity in following the programmes was also found to depend on the political position of the viewer; the supporters of right-wing parties followed the series less than the average, while supporters of the party furthest to the left were the most interested of all. While the program series cannot be considered a political one in the strict sense of the word, its topic - the collective farm - seems nevertheless to have been

closely associated with the values involved in the ideological views of the respondents. When these values favored socialist views, the presentation of a socialist form of production attracted the viewer's interest. Attitudes negative to socialism, on the other hand, led to a certain extent to rejection of the program series. This connection with ideology is clearly reflected in the reactions of the press. The bourgeois press - i.e. the great majority - were relatively silent concerning the series. All negative criticism of the programmes, however, came precisely from this direction.

Attitudes toward the programmes

Attitudes toward the series, including writings in the press and other spontaneous reactions, were in general highly positive, regardless of the respondent's opinion of the actual topic of the programmes. The series was considered to be well produced and to expand the horizons of the viewer, without omitting some criticism. Workers in particular emphasized that the series broadened the viewer's horizons, while farmers considered this to be least the case. The programmes were also considered to be needed and worthwhile. In explanation of this view, it was suggested by the viewers that it was good to find out about life in foreign countries in general, about the Soviet Union and the collective farm system in particular. The programmes were also considered necessary in order to remove preconceptions and stereotyped ideas. In the few cases in which the series was considered unnecessary, it was in general felt to be propaganda for the purpose of persuading Finnish farmers into a collective farm organization, i.e. preparing the ground for the collective farm. Related to these responses were those in which the series was considered good and needed in order to show Finnish farmers, and Finns in general, how well off they still were in their own country.

The farmers saw the least purpose for the program whereas those who considered them most necessary were workers and

those who combined small-scale farming with another job. Underlying the positive responses of the latter group are probably their political views, combined with the pressure toward agricultural cooperation due to the inability of non-viable small farms to support their owners.

In general, the programmes were also considered to be accurate. When their accuracy was doubted, the respondents considered that some unfavorable aspect of the collective farm had been left out, or that everything had not been shown. In spite of the critical comments included in the programmes, some respondents felt that matters had been embellished to give a too pretty a picture of the collective farm. In such cases, the series was naturally easily seen as a piece of propagande. The factual information presented, on the other hand, was hardly ever suspected to be inaccurate. Doubts of the truthfulness of the series were found to be due in part to negative attitudes toward the collective farm, which took the form, among other things, of inaccurate information concerning the farm, and the truthfulness of the facts presented was doubted since they were inconsistent with the picture already possessed.

Farmers in particular seem to have followed the series with a professional eye. The picture of the collective farm presented in the series was a relatively new one for many viewers and many factors, such as the high pay received by the farm members, the freedom and low degree of restriction of the individual, and the independence of the farm, all amazed the viewer. These same factors, it is true, were also the ones whose accuracy was most often suspected.

Those who suspected the picture given of the collective farm of being too favorable felt that both the producers of the series and the collective farm members were guilty of embellishment i.e. the producers had not wanted, or had not been allowed, to tell the whole truth, and the collective farm members had not dared to speak freely.

The results concerning attitudes toward the series were fairly consistent for all methods of data collection. In

general the programmes were received favorably; only here and there appeared accusations of propaganda, embellishment of the truth, and unreliability. Particularly in the case of the telephone interviews the reception of the series seems to have been even enthusiastic. On the other hand, in the case of the field interviews, although the pertinent data have not been included in the report, the reception was a fairly indifferent one, if generally positive. It is difficult here to distinguish between methodological differences and differences in the sample; the samples used in the different sub-investigations were not in fact particularly equivalent to each other, since none of them represented the entire population of Finland with any certainty.

The generally positive attitudes toward the series may be due to any of a number of factors. It is possible that the viewers had a real need to obtain information about the Soviet collective farm. In addition, the series had been extremely well produced. Finally, in our society information as such is generally positively valued, regardless of its content and information is considered a good thing in itself and its acquisition a worthwhile pursuit.

Conceptions of the collective farm and attitudes toward it

In this respect, the various methods used yielded quite different and even contradictory results. The telephone interviews and the viewing test yielded more or less the following picture: the respondents considered the collective farm to function efficiently from the economic point of view, but they thought that people in the collective farm had no spirit of enterprise. Collectivization was seen as a successful solution specifically for the Soviet Union. The farm members showed a strong sense of group spirit, and life in the collective farm was comfortable, happy and secure. The patriotism of the collective farm members, and the good conduct of their youth, appealed to the Finnish viewer. To a certain extent life in the collective farm was seen as non-individualistic. On the other hand, life in the farm was

also seen as fairly free, and membership as voluntary. Farmer respondents did not consider the collective farm to be suitable under Finnish conditions, since:

(a) The Finnish national character is unsuitable to collectivization.
(b) Private enterprise is superior even in principle.
(c) The collective farm means a loss of the freedom and independence which private ownership is considered to guarantee.
(d) People in the collective farm become lazy, and finally,
(e) the conditions of Finnish agriculture are such that large-scale farming like the collective farm would not succeed here.

In the other occupational groups interviewed by telephone, however, at least one third of the respondents felt that the collective farm might work in Finland also, either as such or in the form for example of cooperative cattle houses.

This picture of the collective farm is a relatively positive one, in particular the respondents interviewed by telephone seem to have had highly positive image of the collective farm. The results yielded by the field interviews are in fairly sharp contrast with this picture. In these interviews (described in section 7), attitudes toward the collective farm in general and toward its various aspects were consistently highly negative, and the film series, while it did not make them more negative, was also unable to shift them in a more positive direction in any respect. It is true, however, that in the second round of interviews, following the broadcast of the series, the respondents tended to see the collective farm as an appropriate solution for the Soviet Union. It should be borne in mind that the respondents in the field interviews were exclusively farmers, a group displaying more negative attitudes toward the collective farm then other occupational groups. In spite of this, the farmers followed the series with above-average interest.

One thing which the field interviews did show was this: when the programmes had drawn the viewers' attention to something new and created new attitudes, these attitudes were consistent with the series - i.e. neutral, or even positive. Due to the procedure of the telephone interviews and the viewing test, it was impossible to distinguish in them between what was new and created by the programmes, and what had existed already previously. The relatively high degree of positiveness brought out by these two methods may have been due to the fact that the collective farm images brought out in these interviews included more opinions and attitudes created by the programmes than for example those brought out in the field interviews. The telephone interviews and the viewing test followed directly upon the broadcast of the programmes, when the observations and impressions made by the film had not yet been articulated and integrated into a whole with the respondents' more fundamental value. In these interviews, the content of the programmes was evidently recalled better than in the field interviews. Thus observations and impressions, and the cognitive level of collective farm images, may have been dominant. Images would then be more consistent with the programmes than in the field interviews or the mail questionnaires, which were not administered until a longer period had elapsed from the broadcast. This interpretation fits in with the fact that in the mail questionnaire a change in a positive direction did not take place in those attitudes which formed an articulated whole, but only in those which were unconnected in people's minds and which thus did not obtain any support from a broader integrated-system of values.

It would seem that in the measurement of program comprehension, one fairly basic dimension is that of time and therefore we must distinguish between <u>short-term comprehension effects</u> on the one hand and <u>long-range effects</u> on the other. It would appear that long-range effects can take place only in the case of attitudes which are not particularly central to people's images, and which are not

very clearly articulated. Measurements made directly following the presentation of the program give perhaps too positive a picture of the effect of the program on the central components of the viewer's images or world-view, if indeed the program affects them at all.

Intellectual comprehension of the series

All the component investigations indicated that the program series had added to the viewers' information about the collective farm as a form of agricultural production. In many of the investigations (particularly the viewing test and the field interviews) it was found that a kind of conflict or dissonance had arisen between cognition and attitudes when the information obtained from the programmes did not correspond to previous, negatively coloured ideas concerning the collective farm. One effect of such conflict was the tendency to perceive more negative traits in the collective farm than had actually been shown in the film series. This was combined with a tendency to make explicitly incorrect observations of the contents of the programmes. Another, evidently more long-range effect was the breakdown of intellectual structures. When information and attitudes cease to correspond, there is a tendency for them to form independent and isolated image components. It is difficult to forecast future development, but it is likely that the conflicting information received from the film series will gradually be forgotten, remaining as it does without support from attitudinal structures. This is probably the easiest way to eliminate dissonance, since the series was not followed by more factual information concerning the collective farm system.

The analysis of the field interviews revealed, it is true, that the series was effective communication in the sense that its effect on the viewers was not restricted to the level of mere observation. Instead, independent cognitive processes were evidently set under way, resulting in generalized information concerning collective

agriculture beyond what was received directly from the programmes, information which furthermore was valid. This seems to indicate that at least in a small group of viewers intellectual activation and the consequent revision of the intellectual image of the collective farm had taken place, and may have been followed by a shift in attitudes also.

On the basis of the telephone interviews and the viewing test, information comprehension was estimated as fairly superficial, even if the respondents had formed a fairly clear picture of the external characteristics of the collective farm system. On the other hand, according to the field interview data, informational comprehension would have been more fundamental, giving rise to valid generalizations with regard to the basic nature of collectivism. It is possible that the first two methods of data collection, administered as they were directly following presentation of the programmes, were still tied to the actual content of the programmes and thus did not provide sufficient space or time for the respondents' own thoughts on the subject to develop. In the field interviews, the respondents were able to achieve a greater psychological distance from the programmes, and thus were not so closely tied to their explicit content. Under such conditions, the results of their own trains of thought were probably more likely to come to the fore.

With regard to the telephone interviews, we can conclude that the information offered by this method is probably considerably more superficial than that obtained in face-to-face situations. The telephone interviews were characterized by an artificial surface polish, and were unable to provide very reliable data, due to the fairly distant, formal and unnatural contact between the interviewer and the respondent. These features of the method have evidently led to a smoothing over of the subject, to mutual politeness and an avoidance of "delicate" matters.

The mail questionnaire turned out to be a rather poor means of data collection for the measurement of comprehension. This method is clearly less able than the others to reveal

independent thought processes and their results, since the written expression of such ideas is neither easy nor interesting for a majority of the respondents. The results of the mail questionnaire remained fairly superficial and unintegrated.

The information which did reach the viewers was not generalized to conditions outside the Soviet Union. In general, a tendency could be observed to refrain from generalizing the content of the programmes to the viewers' own circumstances. In part, of course, this is due to the fact that the topic of the program series was a fairly unfamiliar and alien one, and one difficult even objectively speaking to generalize to conditions in Finland. The differences between the two systems are too obvious and too deep. The field interviews, however, indicated that there may have been a slight degree of such generalization; there was a mild shift in the reasons given for the unsuitability of the collective farm for Finland, in that less rational reasons, such as the Finnish national character, were adduced relatively less often after the programmes than before. On the other hand, such factors as the efficiency and rationality, security and comfort of the collective farm, and the good livelihood of the members, were adduced relatively more often as rationaled for the suitability of the collective farm system.

The respondents did of course compare what they saw to their own living conditions, but this took place almost exclusively at the practical level, with regard to farming techniques. There was little or no comparison with regard to social conditions, such as for example the services offered or available. Such comparisons between Soviet and Finnish conditions were not, it is true, made in the program series. With regard to production resources - a basic difference between the system - comparison were made at least in the field interviews, and it would seem that after watching the film the collective farm was rejected even more decisively as a possibility for Finnish farming, since the importance of

private ownership was now emphasized even more strongly than before. The effect of the program series may be have been to make clearer the difference between the two systems, and to induce the viewers to choose their own. This may mean that the viewers are indifferent to the advantages of a collective system of ownership, such as for instance the social services made possible, when different basic values are involved.

Theoretical aspects of comprehension[1]

The concept of comprehension has not been approached in this report from the theoretical point of view. In other words, there has been no conceptual analysis of what it is we actually mean when we talk about the comprehension of a television program.

In theory, the effects of the collective farm series can be analyzed from the point of view of the type of information the programmes gave those who watched it. One possible way of classifying the information provided by the mass media is the following: 1) orientating information, 2) practical information, and 3) entertaining information. All information may in principle include any or all of these components. In this particular case, that of the collective farm programmes, orientating information would mean that the series has helped the viewer to form a clearer picture of the world and of what has happened and is presently happening in the world. Practical information would mean that for example farmers are able to do their work better than before. Entertaining information, finally, means that the series has been received primarily as entertainment, as a means of spending tim pleasurably. In this case, the series would have been received as an exotic tale of foreign lands, without any great significance for the viewer's idea of the world or for his everyday activity. In this case, the programmes would have merely been pleasant to watch.

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[1] The following theoretical observations are based on the text and comments of Veikko Pietilä.

On the basis of the results reported here, it would seem that the collective farm documentary series offered its viewers above all with orientating information. More than anything else it broadened the viewers' horizons. The series probably also had some value as entertainment. For a majority of the viewers, the least significant function of the programmes was that of providing practical information. For some viewers, the programmes evidently did have some practical significance as well, for example for small-scale farmers who combine farming with outside work; such individuals, pressed by circumstances, may have felt the need to obtain some practical information as to the collective or cooperative organization of farming. The most obvious effect of the series, however, was to broaden people' view of the world.

Another theoretical approach to the comprehension of the program series is that of the various effects it may have had. One way of classifying the effects of mass communication is the following: into 1) activating effects, 2) reorientating effects, and 3) creative effects. The effect of a piece of communication is activating if it does not alter the receiver's view of the world, but activates him to think about the matters with which the information was concerned, on the basis of his former world view. The effect is reorientating if the communication alters the direction of the receiver's opinions, e.g. changes an attitude from negative to positive. A creative effect means that the communication provides the receiver's world view with entirely new material.

The data reported here would seem to indicate that the effect of the program series has been above all an activating one. This can be seen for example in the field interviews: for those respondents who had watched the programmes, the first and second interviews differed greatly. The series together with the interviews had evidently activated people to think about the collective farm more thoroughly than before, and the result appeared in the form of quite long,

copious and colourful interviews. Only few reorientating effects were found; opinions changed relatively little, although this also apparently took place in some cases. The creative effect is in theory the broadest of all. In this study it was found that people had received a great deal of new information about the collective farm. We might conclude from this that the program series had an extensive creative effect. On the other hand, this creative effect on the level of cognitions was probably both relatively superficial and short-lived, since it tended to introduce image conflict. We finally concluded that in a small group of viewers the series may have had a permanent creative effect, in that the new information obtained from the program also created new attitudes and redirected former ones.

All in all, the collective farm documentary series evidently did not have any revolutionary effect. Above all, it seems to have activated people to think a little about such a thing as the collective farm.

Methodological problems

In a study like the one reported here, reality may be distorted in at least two ways. One of these is reflected in the work of those scienticts, for whom: "a unique individual is only the intersection of many quantitative variables". Such a "man of intersections" is a being with no internal structure, unity or spirit. This kind of distortion arises easily in the ordinary interview or questionnaire study, in which the very data collection technique makes it difficult to discover the internal structure, unity or spirit of the respondent. Such unity, it is true, may be sought from these data also, by means of various statistical techniques. It is typical for researchers to be concerned as to whether their scales are sufficiently reliable but what they should ask is whether the scales have any real meaning and whether they yield information which is based on reality and leads to a solution of the problem.

The data collection methods used in the present project,

with the exception of the mail questionnaire, were in part directed precisely toward avoiding this scale-centered distortion. With this purpose in mind, open-ended questions were used almose exclusively.

The question must obviously be asked, whether we have succeeded in this effort by using somewhat unusual methods of data collection. The answer is fairly clear: The effort has succeeded fairly well only in the case of the viewing test analysis, where the "internal spirit" of the interviews, which enables us to understand the process of information reception, is apparent. In the other parts of the research, the distortion is still quite evident.

In this research, the methods of data collection were deliberately varied, and this aim has evidently been reached fairly well. On the other hand, there has been no conscious effort to vary methods of data analysis (meaning various approaches to the data, rather than for instance different forms of multivariate analysis). The most important reason for this lack of variation is the non-availability of other ways of dealing with free speech, besides either the construction of individual variables, suitable for statistical treatment, as in the field interviews, or direct quotation of significant points, as in the viewing test. A descriptive analysis of the latter kind is possible when the total number of interviews is only fifteen. In the field interviews, on the other hand, there were altogether 306 interviews. A qualitative description and analysis of such material is quite difficult.

One purpose of this research has been to provide a methodological experiment, with different data collection methods as the experimental variable. Methods of data analysis, on the other hand, were not set up as a variable, chiefly because appropriate methods could not be found. The development of methods for the analysis of free speech should actually be the next step in the project, since it was found that the ordinary statistical approach to data analysis leaves out some essential aspects of the information.

The development of such methods is especially important since it was found that the free-form interview is a particularly abundant source of information; the data gained from the interviews were copious and full of nuances, and the internal structure and spirit of the interviews themselves was easily apparent. The only thing missing are methods and methodology for dealing with these interviews as a whole. It would seem that as a method of data collection the free-form interview is considerably better than questionnaires and other closed methods, when we are studying such complex psychological processes as mass communication comprehension. With this method the tendency of closed methods in themselves to create information which does not really exist can be avoided or at least minimized. The nature of the data in these free-form interviews was determined more by the respondents than by the researchers and in the case of closed-form methods, the opposite is sometimes likely. The analysis of the data thus collected, however, proved to be difficult in the absence of suitable methods and methodology.

Reality may be distorted in research in another way, too. In this project the reception of a single television program was approached to a very great extent as an isolated event. Neither the social situation in which the program was broadcast or the historical background of that situation were taken into account in any very precise way. Nevertheless, the reactions for example of farmer viewers to the program can be fully understood only when the results of this research are placed against the background of the history and present situation of the Finnish farming population. This type of distortion, in which facts are isolated from their framework, is not peculiar to this particular research, but concerns the very foundations of all social science.

THE TELEPHONE INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE ADMINISTERED IN CONNECTION WITH THE BROADCAST OF THE DOCUMENTARY FILM SERIES "A COLLECTIVE FARM IN EASTERN SIBERIA", APRIL 16TH, 1971

1. Did you watch the program on the collective farm in eastern Siberia tonight, which started at a quarter after seven and lasted half an hour?
IF NOT: Did someone else in your family watch it? May I speak to him (her)?
IF NOBODY WATCHED IT: Thank you, goodbye.
Your number, among many others, has been chosen by lot from the telephone directory. We would like to ask you a few questions. Your help is of great importance to the success of the whole study. Your name will not appear anywhere, and this concersation is not being recorded or broadcast over the radio. The information you give us will be used only for the scientific study of audience opinion.

2. Had you heard or read of this program beforehand. Where and what?

3. Had you decided in advance to watch this program, or did you just happen to watch it?

4. Did you watch the whole program?

5. IF NOT: What part did you watch?
IF THE RESPONDENT HAS TURNED OFF THE SET: At what point?

6. IF THE RESPONDENT DID NOT WATCH THE ENTIRE PROGRAM: Why did you watch only part, or why did you turn it off?

7. Did you see the first part too, which was shown before Easter, on Monday April 5th?

8. What did you think in general about this evening's program, what ideas did it awaken in you?

9. Could you tell me in your own words what you remember best about this program?

10. What did you think was the most interesting thing in the program?

11. Was the collective farm shown in the program the way you had imagined a collective farm to be?

12. Did this program show something new, that you had not known about the collective farm before?

13. Do you feel that the picture given here of the collective farm was a true one?

14. Do you feel that a system of farming of this type would work in Finland also?

15. What do you feel are the good things about the collective farm?

16. And what are the bad things?

17. What impression did you get, as to whether the farm members were satisfied with their life?

18. Do all the collective farm members get the same pay?

19. What is the average pay of the members?

20. How is the pay determined?

21. How does the management of the farm work and how are things decided there?

22. How is the chairman of the farm chosen?

23. If the farm produces more than was planned, what happens to the surplus?

24. About how much farmland did this collective farm have? What about livestock and machinery?

25. Did the farm have anough land and livestock, or did they need more?

26. Had any growth taken place in this farm? How much had production grown during the last few years?

27. How was study arranged for the members?

28. How were children cared for? (Were there any creched or nursery schools, did the children have to go to them, how much did it cost? Ask if respondent does not mention spontaneously.)

29. What leisure-time opportunities did the farm members have?

30. Did you enjoy watching this program?

31. Do you feel that the program was an unbiased one?

32. Was it a good thing to show this series on television?

33. The last part of the series will be shown next Monday, do you intend to watch it?

34. These are all the questions we want to ask you. Is there anything else you would like to say about the program shown?

QUESTIONS OF THE FIELD INTERVIEWS WHICH FORMED THE BASIS FOR THE DATA DISCUSSED IN THIS REPORT

The first round of interviews

All right, lets come back to this matter of farming. In Finland, farming takes place in relatively small units. What other systems are there, used say in other parts of the world?

(If the respondents does not spontaneously mention the collective farm: For example in the Soviet Union agriculture is based on part on large collective farms.) What do you imagine life to be like in these farms?

How, to your knowledge, is the collective farm organized in practice?

What is it like for the individual man or woman to live and work in the collective farm?

What is your own attitude toward the collective farm?

Do you think that such a system would work well in Finland?

The second round of interviews. Questions asked of those who did not watch the collective farm program series:

We are interested in people's opinions as to a program series recently shown over television, the three-part series entitled "A Collective Farm in Eastern Siberia". We do these kind of studies about many other programmes too, but this time we are interested precisely in your opinion of this particular program.

Did you happen to watch this series?

Well, in this program a particular Soviet collective farm was shown. What do you feel was it like to live in a Soviet farm of that type?

How are these farms organized there in practice?

What is your idea of what it is like for the individual man or woman to live and work in a collective farm?

Do Finnish farmers have anything to learn from Soviet farmers?

Well, do you think that Finns could profit by the example of something in the life of the Soviet farming population in general?

Could Soviet farmers learn anything from Finnish farmers?

And is there anything in the life of the Finnish farming population that the Soviet Union could profit from?

Can you say what is the difference between the collective farm and a cooperative?

Can you give a list of all the ways in which the Soviet collective farm differs from the cooperative activity of Finnish farmers?

Second round of interviews. Questions for those who did watch the program series:

Could you say, in your own words, what you remember about this collective farm series.

In general what is your opinion about this program series, what ideas did it awaken in you?

What did you feel was most interesting in the series?

On the basis of the series, what do you think life is like in the collective farm?

What picture did you get as to the way the collective farm is organized in practice?

What picture did you get as to what it is like for the individual man or woman to live and work in the collective farm?

Do you feel that the picture of the collective farm given by this program series was true or false?

Was the collective farm shown in the program the way you had imagined collective farms to be? (If not:) In what way was it different?

What do you feel are the good things about the collective farm?

What benefits do you feel the collective farm system has brought to those who take part in it?

What drawbacks do you see in the system?

What disadvantages does the collective farm system involve for those who take part in it?

What was your impression as to whether the farm members were satisfied with their life?

Do you think the collective system of farming would work well in Finland?

Why?/Why not?

What would change if collective farming was adopted in this country?

Do you feel that this program was unbiased or biased?

Well, was it a good or bad thing to show the series over television?

Do you think that Finnish farmers might learn something from Soviet farmers?

Well, do you think that Finns could profit by the example of something in the life of the Soviet farming population in general?

Could Soviet farmers learn anything from Finnish farmers?

And is there anything in the life of the Finnish farming population that the Soviet Union could profit from?

Can you say what is the difference between the collective farm and a cooperative?

Can you give a list of all the ways in which the Soviet collective farm differs from the cooperative activity of Finnish farmers?

<u>Recall test administered only to those who had watched the program series.</u>

Now we want to ask you a few questions about the information given in the programs.

First of all, whereabouts in the Soviet Union was the collective farm shown in the program located?

Do you remember how many people lived in the farm?

How did people come to be members of the farm?

Did all the farm members get the same pay?

What was the average monthly pay of the farm member?

How is the management of the farm organized, how are decisions made there?

Who owns the dwelling houses of the farm?

About how much arable land did the collective farm shown here have?

What leisure-time opportunities were there for the members?

How were the members' vacations arranged?

How were the children cared for during the day?